New Testament Conjectural Emendation in the Nineteenth Century

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Jan Hendrik Holwerda (*1805–1886*)
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New Testament Conjectural Emendation in the Nineteenth Century

Jan Hendrik Holwerda as a Pioneer of Method

By

Bart L.F. Kamphuis



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Voor Janneke, Jil en Daan



If we value the labours of those who have preceded us,
and honour their memory,
it should be an incentive to us to attend ourselves
to this same department of Biblical knowledge.

SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES ("Introduction" [1856], p. 7)



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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 13 December 1886

On 13 December 1886 a group of 33 men convened in the Amsterdam canal mansion called the Trippenhuis, seat of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. They were all members of the Academy's Section of Language, Literature, History and Philosophy. Many names of those present have not been forgotten since, like Matthias de Vries, remembered as one of the fathers of the Dictionary of the Dutch Language; Hendrik Kern, orientalist and name giver of the Leiden Kern Institute; or Allard Pierson, professor of aesthetics and name giver of the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam.

The first speaker at the meeting was Willem Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen, who had won a name for himself with his 1880 study on NT conjectural emendation.[1] Van de Sande Bakhuyzen spoke about Jan Hendrik Holwerda, the Academy member who had passed away a few months earlier. He referred to his work on Josephus and Philo, but devoted most attention to Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism. Unfortunately, explained van de Sande Bakhuyzen, it is impossible to do justice to Holwerda's criticism in its entirety in a memorial speech:

> One can give a complete account of works with a somewhat philosophical content, or which at least contain a chain of reasoning; one can discuss their origin and the value of the views involved; but in order to make clear the meaning of several exegetical remarks and conjectures, one should write an exegetical treatise.[2]

In a way, the present study is this 'exegetical treatise' that van de Sande Bakhuyzen thought was needed to fully understand Holwerda.

1 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880).

2 "Van werken, wier inhoud eenigszins wijsgeerig is, die althans eene aaneengeschakelde redeneering behelzen, kan men een volledig verslag geven, men kan het ontstaan en de waarde der daarin vervatte denkbeelden bespreken; maar om de beteekenis van een aantal exegetische opmerkingen en conjecturen duidelijk te maken, zou men eene exegetische verhandeling moeten schrijven" (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], pp. 84–85).

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Who is this Holwerda, and why should we pay attention to his NT conjectural criticism? Why should we pay attention to the history of NT conjectural criticism at all? This introductory chapter will deal with such questions, as well as some methodological issues. Sections 1.3 to 1.7 result from original research, which is inevitable when moving into virgin territory.

1.2 The Amsterdam Research Project and Its Historical Approach

First of all, this investigation is part of a larger research project, entitled 'New Testament Conjectural Emendation: A Comprehensive Enquiry'. This project, executed at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, aims at collecting as many NT conjectures as possible and publishing these in an open access database.[3] It also attempts to understand the history of NT conjectural emendation by studying the work of important NT conjectural critics. Methodologically, the project is part of the 'historical turn' in NT textual criticism. The historical turn means that readings are not merely stepping stones towards the 'orginal text'. They are also historical phenomena that are meaningful in themselves, apart from the question whether they can be regarded as more original than all other readings available.[4] Similarly, more can be said about conjectures than that they are 'right' or 'wrong' (or, as one reads too often, 'interesting but problematic, because there is no manuscript attestation').[5] Like manuscript readings, conjectures are historical phenomena: proposed by a certain author with certain ideas about the NT text, in a certain period with certain exegetical and text-critical characteristics, etc.[6]

In fact, in most cases the historical approach to conjectures is even more rewarding than the historical approach to manuscript readings: whereas in the latter case one often has to conjecture the context, in the former case the context is handed to us on a silver platter. The conjecture is still available in its

3 See Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* (2016).

4 See e.g. several essays in Ehrman and Holmes (eds.), *Text* (²2013), notably Haines-Eitzen, "Social History," Holmes, "Traditional Goal" and Ehrman, "Window." In classical philology a similar approach is taken by Sean Gurd; see e.g. Güthenke, "Shop Talk" (2009), pp. 110–111.

5 See e.g. Mounce's rejection of Junius' conjecture on 1 Tim 5:13: "Moffatt's tr. and Jeremias conjecture an emendation, λανθάνουσιν, 'they are unaware,' *although there is no textual support*" (my italics; *Pastoral Epistles* [2000], p. 272). As a matter of fact, Holwerda proposes the same conjecture (see § 4.3.2.5).

6 See Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), p. 3. For a similar approach in classical philology, see Østmoe, *Poeta noster* (2014).

original context—the publication in which it was proposed. In the case of a secondary manuscript reading we can make (educated) guesses about the whys and wherefores; here we have an author explicitly arguing for the conjecture.

The Amsterdam project wants to do justice to conjectures by situating them in their original context. Often conjectures have become naked chains of characters, "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb 7:3), as Jan Krans compared them to Melchizedek.[7] The beauty of a conjecture lies in its simplicity: though there can be pages of argumentation, the actual proposal most of the time is just one Greek word, like a complicated mathematical reasoning that boils down to a simple formula. This facilitates the transmission of conjectures: one can easily and briefly refer to them. For example, in the critical apparatus of the Nestle and Nestle-Aland editions the only difference from manuscript readings was the name of a scholar instead of a manuscript siglum; the publication was not mentioned.[8] Thus cut loose from their argumentative context, conjectures are easily misjudged, misunderstood, or even corrupted themselves. The simplicity of a conjecture is also its vulnerability.

The historical approach to NT conjectures was firmly established in 2006 by Jan Krans in his study on Erasmus and Beza.[9] Krans demonstrated that conjectures are very suitable as lenses on a critic and his time. For example, Erasmus' conjectures shed new light on the role of the Vulgate in his NT textual criticism; and several Beza conjectures laid bare what it meant for Beza that Scripure is infallible. Krans ended his *Beyond What is Written* by recommending the study of other important NT conjectural critics. He was especially thinking of scholars such as representatives of the nineteenth-century "Dutch School,"[10] who stood at the beginning of the age of the ancient text, just as Erasmus and Beza proposed their conjectures at the beginning of the age of the Textus Receptus. As a Dutchman who is aware of the language barrier that denies most scholars access to Dutch sources, for me this recommendation formed the starting point of the process that led to the present book.

7 Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), p. 3.

8 NA[28] did not mention conjectures anymore, anticipating the publication of our database (see p. 4*). For the role of conjectures in the Nestle and Nestle-Aland editions, see further chapter 9 in Krans, *Method and History* 2 (forthcoming).

9 Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006).

10 Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), p. 333.

1.3 The Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism

Krans' 'Dutch School' refers to a rather large group of Dutch scholars involved in NT conjectural emendation in the second half of the nineteenth century. There has always been an awareness in the literature of this school or movement—I prefer the latter term.[11] However, since nearly all their publications were written in Dutch, they were not frequently consulted by non-Dutch scholars. For example, in 1889 Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel, who himself did read the Dutch works, blames Henri Bois for ignoring them: "wie man, wenn man Conjecturen zum Neuen Testament machen will, die Niederländer bei Seite lassen kann, ist uns unverständlich."[12]

The difficult access to the sources has led to a blurred image of the movement in the textbooks. For example, Metzger writes that the number of conjectures previously assembled by William Bowyer in the eighteenth century[13] "were greatly augmented in the latter part of the nineteenth century by a spate of articles and books published in Holland by W.C. van Manen, W.H. van der [sic] Sande Bakhuyzen, D. Harting, S.S. de Koe, H. Franssen, J.M.S. Baljon, J.H.A. Michelsen, J. Cramer, and others."[14] A closer look at what actually happened in the Netherlands in the last decades of the nineteenth century leads to a considerable nuancing of this statement.

Many of the scholars mentioned by Metzger were conjecture *judges* in the first place, and only secondarily, to a greater or lesser extent, conjecture *makers*. Indeed, this evaluative aspect is a distinctive contribution of the Dutch Movement to the history of NT conjectural emendation. The impetus for this collective effort to make a selection of the best conjectures came from a competition held by Teyler's Godgeleerd Genootschap (Teyler's Theological Society) in 1878. The competition was formulated as follows:

> The Society requires: a treatise on the application of conjectural criticism to the text of the New Testament writings, in which its history is related,

11 The term 'movement' fits in with the way Jacob Cramer, one of the scholars involved, refers to the collective enterprise (Cramer, "Exegetica et critica III-1" [1892], p. 11). The term 'school' is less suitable, since there was no form of centralisation around, for example, a professor, a university or a periodical.

12 Schmiedel, review of Henri Bois, *Adversaria critica* (1889), c. 905.

13 For Bowyer, see further chapter 3 in Krans, *Method and History 2* (forthcoming).

14 Metzger, *Text* (^{3}1992), p. 184.

its necessity is assessed, and an overview as complete as possible is provided of its main outcomes.[15]

Four authors submitted a treatise, two of which shared the first prize, which meant their treatises were published.[16] The winners were Willem Christiaan van Manen (1842–1905) and the already mentioned Willem Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen (1831–1919).[17]

While van Manen offers a very extensive (yet careless) collection of conjectures, van de Sande Bakhuyzen, more in line with Teyler's actual request, makes a selection of the most important conjectures. While van Manen only mentions the conjecture, van de Sande Bakhuyzen offers a brief discussion. He also gives his opinion: rejection, acceptance, or suspension of judgment. In sum, van de Sande Bakhuyzen accepts 247 conjectures on the entire New Testament; besides, he makes 60 conjectures himself, by our count.

At the theological faculty of Utrecht, van de Sande Bakhuyzen's work (that is, the third part, dealing with the main outcomes) became a model for no fewer than four dissertations written under supervision of Jacobus Isaac Doedes (1819–1897).[18] The dissertations written by Salomon Sieuwerd de Koe (1842–1886) on John and by Herman Franssen (1860–1928) on Matthew offer a more restrained position, both defending 10 conjectures.[19] Quantitatively more in line with van de Sande Bakhuyzen is the thesis by Willem van der Beke Callenfels (1859–1949) on Mark and Luke, in which he defends 60 conjectures.[20] Even more radical than van de Sande Bakhuyzen is Johannes Marinus Simon Baljon (1861–1908), with 118 accepted or (re-)invented conjectures on Paul's four cap-

15 "Het Genootschap verlangt: eene verhandeling over de toepassing van de conjecturaalkritiek op den tekst van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments, waarin hare geschiedenis verhaald, hare noodzakelijkheid beoordeeld, en van hare belangrijkste uitkomsten een zoo volledig mogelijk overzigt gegeven wordt." E.g. in van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), p. [ii].

16 Our research group has found the other two treatises in the archives of Teyler's Godgeleerd Genootschap. The names of the authors have been retrieved. The treatises have been transcribed and will shortly be published.

17 Van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880); van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880).

18 About Doedes' remarkable development regarding his opinion on NT conjectural emendation, in which Holwerda seems to have played an important role, see § 2.12.3, especially n. 214.

19 De Koe, *Conjecturaal-critiek* (1883); Franssen, *Beoordeeling* (1885).

20 Van der Beke Callenfels, *Beoordeeling* (1885).

ital epistles (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians).[21] Baljon continued with a series of articles in which he treated nearly all the NT writings that were not covered by the four dissertations; he only refrained from discussing Acts and Revelation.[22] Eventually, in 1898 he published a *Novum Testamentum Graece*, in which are mentioned, by our count, 795 conjectures, 136 of which are accepted as text.[23] This publication can be seen as the natural end point of what I would call the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism.

Though the last two decades of the Dutch nineteenth century can be characterised as a period of evaluation of conjectures, many new conjectures were also made during these years (some of which actually were found to be cases of 'reinvention' in the course of our research project). As mentioned, one fifth of the conjectures defended by van de Sande Bakhuyzen in 1880 he invented himself, while Baljon came up with 35 conjectures of his own in his dissertation and articles. Jacob Cramer (1833–1895), who succeeded Doedes in Utrecht, proposed 63 conjectures, no fewer than 42 on Galatians alone.[24] Even more productive was the classical scholar Samuel Adrianus Naber (1828–1913), who made 223 NT conjectures.[25] Outnumbering them all was Jan Hendrik Adolf Michelsen (1838–1918), with the staggering number of (by our count) 433 emendations.[26]

Michelsen is an interesting figure in the Dutch Movement, because the publications in which he practices NT conjectural emendation range in date from 1867 to 1906. In other words, Michelsen is not only part of the 'hype' of the last two decades, but also of the 'build-up' in the decades before 1880. Indeed, the Teyler competition did not come out of the blue; it was in the (Dutch) air.[27]

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21 Baljon, *Tekst* (1884).

22 Baljon, "Opmerkingen" (1885–1889); "Jakobus" (1891); "1 Petrus" (1892); "2 Petrus" (1893); "1–3 Johannes—Judas" (1893).

23 On the basis of his evaluation publications one would expect an even higher number. For Baljon's NT conjectural criticism, see further chapter 6 in Krans, *Method and History 2* (forthcoming).

24 Cramer, *Galatiërs* (1890); "Exegetica et critica" (1890–1896).

25 Notably Naber, Ἐσκαμμένα (1878); "Δεύτερον" (1878); "Τρίτον" (1881).

26 Notably Michelsen, *Markus* (1867); *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1879); "Coniecturaal-kritiek" (1881); "Kritisch onderzoek" (1886–1887); "Efeziërs, Kolossers en Filemon" (1906). For that matter, our Database reveals that Michelsen's 433 is not even the all-time high in the history of NT conjectural criticism. From Alexandros Pallis (1851–1935) there are 507 registered proposals.

27 Apart from a few exceptions (notably William Linwood and Christian Hermann Weisse around 1870), NT conjectural criticism was hardly practised outside the Netherlands in

Already in the 1860s and 1870s not only Michelsen but also Jan Willem Straatman (1825–1882) made dozens of conjectures on the New Testament.[28] But Michelsen and Straatman, in their turn, are second-generation scholars.

The first generation consists of two scholars, one playing the leading part and one a supporting part. The supporting part is played by Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp (1786–1865), who proposed 26 conjectures on the Gospels and Acts in his 1855 *Opmerkingen*.[29] The leading role is played by Jan Hendrik Holwerda, who proposed 123 conjectures from 1853 to 1866 throughout nine publications.[30] With his *De betrekking van het verstand tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel* the Dutch Movement really started in 1853.

1.4 Holwerda as Father of the Dutch Movement

Both Straatman and Michelsen are indebted to Holwerda.[31] While Holwerda's influence on Straatman is most palpable in the prefaces to both parts of Straatman's *Kritische studiën* (1863–1865),[32] Michelsen's indebtedness can be ascertained from a personal letter.

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the third quarter of the nineteenth century (see van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], pp. 60–62, 73–79).

28 Michelsen made most conjectures—in this period—on Mark (*Markus* [1867]); Straatman on 1 Corinthians (*Kritische studiën 1* [1863]; *Kritische studiën 2* [1865]; "Bijdragen" [1874–1877]). About Straatman's conjectural criticism, in particular his influential proposal to regard 1 Cor 14:33^{b}–35 as an interpolation, see a forthcoming article of Karin B. Neutel.

29 Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855). In other publications there are three more isolated NT conjectures. Peerlkamp's *Opmerkingen* have been investigated by Theo van Beek in his Master thesis (*Peerlkamp* [2015]), to which reference is made several times in § 4.2.3.2.

30 In fact there are ten publications and 124 conjectures: already in 1830 Holwerda proposed his first conjecture (see § 2.2).

31 Peerlkamp is the only critic in the Dutch Movement who is independent of Holwerda. Regarding the relation between Peerlkamp and Holwerda, the following may be noted here already. In a scholarly polemic in which Holwerda criticises Peerlkamp's one NT publication and Peerlkamp defends himself, Holwerda has the upper hand (see § 2.13). However, Peerlkamp influenced Holwerda as a Latin scholar who formed part of the Leiden Radical School. So while Holwerda should be regarded as the father of the Dutch NT conjectural criticism, he is a son of the Dutch classical conjectural criticism (see further § 2.4).

32 The rhetoric against the naïve trust in the transmitted text in the preface to the first part (*Kritische studiën 1* [1863], pp. iii–vii) clearly echoes Holwerda's defence of NT conjectural

In 1881, Michelsen sent Holwerda, whom he had never met, his recently published article on NT conjectural criticism.[33] After Holwerda's kind response, Michelsen wrote in a letter dated 13 July 1881:

> 23 years ago—in 1858 I became a student of Theology—I got to know your writings, and immediately understood that your exegetical and critical method was the only right one. I flung Winer into a corner.[34] As far as I now understand the New Testament, I have you to thank for this.[35]

In fact, such an acknowledgement is also made by van de Sande Bakhyzen in a letter to Holwerda after he won the Teyler competition:[36]

> That my work has been somewhat successful is largely thanks to what I have learned from your works. Therefore, in the part in which I describe the history of the criticism, I have clearly written that regarding conjectural criticism, your works should be mentioned first of all, your method is the only right one.[37]

Similarly, in van Manen's extensive historical survey Holwerda is praised as the critic who, later supported by the somewhat less cautious Straatman and Michelsen, revived NT conjectural criticism in the nineteenth century.[38]

Holwerda's prominence over against Straatman and Michelsen is not only a matter of chronology and influence direction, but also of reception: in the

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emendation in the 1850s. In the preface to the second part, Straatman explicitly refers to Holwerda as someone in whose footsteps he challenges the mainstream exegesis (*Kritische studiën 2* [1865], p. vi).

33 Michelsen, "Coniecturaal-kritiek" (1881).

34 About Holwerda's criticism on Winer, see § 2.8.2.

35 "'t is nu 23 jaar geleden: in 1858 werd ik theologisch student;—dat ik met uw geschriften kennis maakte, en oogenblikkelijk begreep, dat uw exegetische en kritische methode de eenige juiste was. Ik smeet Winer in een hoek. Als ik thans iets van 't N.T. begrijp, heb ik dat aan u te danken" (Michelsen, letter to Holwerda, 14 July 1881, f. 1^{r}).

36 About the use of Holwerda's correspondence in this study, see § 2.1.

37 "Dat ik eenig succes op mijn werk heb gehad heb ik voor een groot gedeelte aan het geen ik uit uwe werken geleerd had te danken. Ik heb dan ook in het gedeelte waarin ik de geschiedenis der kritiek beschrijf, duidelijk geschreven dat, waar van conjecturaalkritiek (…) sprake is, uwe werken in de eerste plaats moeten genoemd worden, uwe methode de eenige goede is" (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, letter to Holwerda, 12 Dec. 1879, f. 1^{v}).

38 Van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 95–102.

Teyler-Utrecht publications the reception of Holwerda's conjectures is better than the reception of Straatman's and Michelsen's conjectures.[39]

Moreover, Holwerda did more than make conjectures. He also defended the method as such, laying the basis for the more extensive apologetics of van Manen and van de Sande Bakhuyzen. Besides that, Holwerda pointed out several corruptions without providing an emendation. Many of these places were emended by later Dutch conjectural critics, in particular by Michelsen.[40] All in all, the importance of Holwerda for the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism cannot be overestimated. Indeed, he should be seen as the father of this movement, which is the first reason why this study is devoted to him and his work.

1.5 The Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism and Dutch Radical Criticism

Before other reasons are provided why Holwerda deserves a complete investigation (see next section), a small digression is in order here to prevent misunderstanding: the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism should not be confused with the 'Dutch Radical Criticism' of the last decades of the nineteenth century (which, in turn, should not be confused with the Leiden Radical School introduced in the next section). In Dutch Radical Criticism the authenticity of all Pauline Epistles was denied, as well as the historicity of Jesus.[41] The connection between the historical criticism of this school and the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism lies in the Pauline corpus. After his 1880 publication on NT conjectural criticism, van Manen started to focus on the question of Pauline authorship, and eventually became the most important representative of the above-mentioned radical viewpoint that none of the thirteen letters was written by the apostle.[42] Another scholar who moved from conjectural emendation to radical criticism of the Pauline epistles was Naber.[43]

39 In the Teyler publication of van de Sande Bakhuyzen and the Utrecht dissertations of de Koe, Baljon, Franssen and van der Beke Callenfels, of Holwerda's 85 conjectures (excluded are 'semi-conjectures'; see § 3.3) 28 are accepted by one scholar, and 5 by two. Of Straatman's 40 conjectures 8 are accepted by one, 3 by two scholars. Of Michelsen's 56 pre-Teyler conjectures 13 are acepted by one scholar, none by two.

40 See p. 207 n. 312.

41 See van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Radical Views* (1912).

42 See Verhoef, "Van Manen" (1999). Van Manen never denied the historicity of Jesus, the other main viewpoint of Dutch Radical Criticism.

43 See his *Verisimilia* (1886), written together with Pierson.

One can imagine how a certain form of conjectural criticism is closely related to higher criticism. A critic can detect several interpolations and consider these the work of later readers and scribes. This is the realm of conjectural criticism. But if all these interpolations are attributed to one single person, this person becomes a 'redactor', whose additions form the final stage of the literary process. Then the same suggestions (passages are interpolated) are not conjectural criticism, but higher criticism—today most scholars would probably label it 'redaction criticism'.[44]

Of course the movement from conjectural criticism to higher criticism of the Pauline Epistles does not at all necessarily lead to such a radical viewpoint as held by the Dutch Radicals. Their complete denial of Pauline authorship has more to do with their evaluation of the traditional material used by the supposed redactor than with the editorial additions themselves. Indeed, the confusing encounter of conjectural criticism and redaction criticism in the Dutch second half of the nineteenth century is not restricted to what happened in the Radical Criticism of the Pauline Epistles.

For example, van Manen mentions dozens of 'conjectures' on Luke and John by Johannes Henricus Scholten (1811–1885), made from the 1840s to the 1870s, which are in fact nearly all cases of redaction criticism, as has been pointed out in the Utrecht dissertations.[45] Another example of methodological confusion can be found in Straatman's thoroughgoing criticism of 1 Corinthians. He attributes several interpolations to a 'Jewish-Christian interpolator', without entertaining the possibility that this interpolator was in fact a redactor. Straatman simply seems to lack overview of the scholarly developments in his day, and brings forward his observations within the framework he happened to be acquainted with—Holwerda's conjectural criticism.[46] In this regard, again, Michelsen is an interesting figure: in his publications on Paul's letters, both lines of criticism—conjectural and redaction—come together in a two-step model. First, by applying conjectural criticism, one can recover the canonical version of a Pauline letter; and then, through redaction criticism, one can move from the canonical to the authorial version.[47]

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44 See further chapter 1 in Krans, *Method and History 1* (forthcoming).

45 See e.g. van der Beke Callenfels, *Beoordeling* (1885), who says he does not treat Scholten's proposals for Luke because they are a form of 'historical criticism' ("historische kritiek", p. 133).

46 See further the forthcoming publication on Straatman and his 1 Cor 14:33^{b}–35 conjecture by Karin B. Neutel.

47 See e.g. Michelsen's three articles on Romans: the two first articles, from 1886 ("Kritisch

The above observations are relevant for positioning Holwerda. He is a conjectural critic *pur sang*. In his work, there is not a hint of redaction criticism. He almost never wonders whether an author could or could not have said this or that, let alone that Holwerda would detect a series of connected interpolations. Holwerda, as will be extensively shown, is focused on language and meaning—he is a philologist. He merely wants to restore an ancient text, make it readable and understandable. He is, for example, highly critical of Scholten's attempt to uncover the 'real' John by deleting those passages that are not in line with John's theology (see further § 2.11).

1.6 The Relevance of Holwerda

Four distinct aspects of Holwerda as a conjectural critic, in combination with his position in the Dutch Movement, justify such an extensive investigation as undertaken in this dissertation. First, it appears that Holwerda's conjectural criticism should be seen against the background of classical philology, more specifically the Leiden Radical School (for a defence of this name, see p. 28 n. 48). Therefore a study of his work is also a study into the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of this school, best known for Carel Gabriël Cobet (1813–1889), its most talented proponent. In fact, the section about the Leiden Radical School in this book is valuable as such, since it corrects certain misunderstandings about the Leiden critics in the non-Dutch literature. But most importantly, the study of Holwerda as a critic who inhaled classical philology and exhaled NT philology serves as an illustration of the renewing power of interdisciplinarity; it questions the present separation of classical and NT studies.

Second, Holwerda is a very polemical conjectural critic. That means that his work is highly interesting as a window on his time. When Holwerda is put in context, the entire Dutch theological world of the middle of the nineteenth century comes to life, with a leading role for the Leiden NT professor van Hengel. Also, Holwerda is highly critical of the most important NT scholars of his day. His response to their work serves, for us, as a barometer for the state of the art in NT grammar (Winer) and exegesis (mainly de Wette) halfway through the nineteenth century, and it lays bare an evident but presently unknown weakness of Tischendorf's text-critical method. For that matter, Holwerda also was the only Dutch scholar who dared to attack Cobet.

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onderzoek [1] and [2]"); are text-critical in nature, involving conjectural emendation; the third article, from 1887 ("Kritisch onderzoek [3]"), is redaction-critical in nature.

The third aspect is closely related to the second: the Leiden library houses a large number of letters from and to Holwerda. Only some of these letters have been superficially consulted,[48] but then mostly in the framework of historical research into the life of Jacob Geel (1789–1862), Holwerda's patron. As will become clear in the course of this book, the letters give us valuable information on Holwerda and his network. Indeed, they tell a remarkable story of intense scholarly friendships but also intense scholarly rivalries. Moreover, they reveal why Holwerda did not become NT professor in Leiden, and they help us to trace the curious developments in the relationship between Holwerda and Cobet. On the level of the history of scholarship, Holwerda's correspondence provides us with a fresh perspective: not the perspective of a laurelled professor, but that of a rejected 'independent scholar'; the perspective of an outsider.

Fourth, Holwerda's conjectural criticism takes place in the middle of "the single most significant fifty-year period in the history of NT textual criticism."[49] Within this movement from Lachmann to Westcott and Hort, Holwerda's scholarship coincides with that of Tischendorf and Tregelles. It appears that putting Holwerda in the context of the NT textual criticism of his day throws new light on this history. For example, Holwerda and Tregelles appear to be much more consistent than Tischendorf in building on the most ancient manuscripts, both, independently of each other and on different grounds, already granting a superior status to Codex Vaticanus. But whereas both Tregelles and Tischendorf reject conjectural emendation on principle, Holwerda, in line with Lachmann (and anticipating Westcott and Hort), thinks conjectural emendation has only become more necessary when the ancient text replaces the Textus Receptus. In sum, Holwerda's conjectural criticism provides a new perspective on the dynamics of this fascinating half-century, challenging common ideas about what happened in these years. And since we are still building on the foundation laid then, it may even challenge our present practice.

1.7 Holwerda and Nineteenth-Century New Testament Conjectural Criticism in Scholarship

There is not much previous research on Holwerda this study has to relate to. Of course, his books were reviewed in the Netherlands; van Manen and van de Sande Bakhuyzen devoted some pages to Holwerda in their respective Teyler

48 See p. 20 n. 4.

49 Epp, "Decision Points" (1989), p. 80.

publications; and most of Holwerda's conjectures were discussed by van de Sande Bakhuyzen, De Koe, Baljon, van der Beke Callenfels and Franssen. But this is reception history: all these voices are certainly allotted speaking time in this book, but as part of the history that is sketched, not as colleague Holwerda experts. Only van de Sande Bakhuyzen's memorial speech counts as historical Holwerda research. For some aspects of Holwerda's life it is used as a source, and its interpretation of Holwerda is critically examined. On one point I have to disagree with van de Sande Bakhuyzen, namely when he states that the opposition to Holwerda in the 1850s stemmed from antipathy to conjectural emendation (see § 2.12.3).

Outside the Netherlands Holwerda's NT criticism has remained largely unknown.[50] Only a few scholars, such as Friedrich Blass (1843–1907), knew his work and accepted some of his conjectures. Blass appears to have had direct access to Holwerda's writings; most other foreign scholars probably encountered Holwerda's conjectures in Baljon's *Novum Testamentum Graece* or one of the Teyler publications (in which conjectures are presented in such a way that only very limited knowledge of Dutch is enough to discern the conjectures as such).[51] Had Holwerda's work been known better, it would have saved several scholars the bother of inventing exactly the same conjecture already proposed by Holwerda.[52] But this is a problem in the history of NT conjectural criticism in general: in the *Amsterdam Database* one can find hundreds of conjectures that were reinvented, not seldom reinvented twice, and sometimes even three or four times.[53] Indeed, just as Benjamin Schliesser has recently lamented the 'exegetical amnesia' in present NT scholarship,[54] one may lament a severe 'conjectural amnesia'.

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50 Holwerda's reception of conjectures on Philo and Josephus has been better than the reception of his NT conjectures; see p. 26 n. 37 and p. 92 n. 333.

51 I have found the following Holwerda conjectures being accepted in non-Dutch sources: Matt 12:21 by Blass; Mark 14:72 by Brandt; Luke 18:7 by Blass; John 8:39 by Pallis; Acts 1:12 by Blass; Acts 22:5 by Blass; 2 Cor 3:3 by Schmiedel and Erwin Nestle.

52 The cases collected so far are the following: Mark 1:1–3 by Elliott; John 2:25 by Pallis; 1 Thess 3:3 by Hitzig; Jas 3:12 by Reiche and later reinvented again by Dibelius; 2 Pet 3:10/48–50 by Bigg (though this case is slightly different because there is versional 'attestation').

53 Examples of conjectures that have been reinvented at least four times include the omission of ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ἀπεσταλμένος in John 9:7 [cj10524], the omission of 1 Cor 11:10 [cj11875], the omission of διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους in the same verse [cj13121], the substitution of λανθάνουσιν for μανθάνουσιν in 1 Tim 5:13 [cj10750] (with Holwerda as one of the reinventors, see § 4.3.2.5), and the substitution of ἐν χολῇ for ἐνοχλῇ in Heb 12:15 [cj10008].

54 Schliesser, "Exegetical Amnesia" (2015).

Holwerda is not alone in being unknown in present scholarship. Indeed, as far as I know no single nineteenth-century NT conjectural critic has ever been the object of research.[55] Yet in the Metzger-Aland era, during which conjectural emendation was generally considered an unnecessary procedure for the New Testament,[56] certain ideas about nineteenth- and eighteenth-century NT conjectural criticism did spring up. Unsurprisingly, these are mostly negative. For example, when discussing and rejecting NT conjectural emendation in his *The Text of the New Testament*, Bruce M. Metzger discusses only one conjectural critic: Richard Bentley (1662–1742). About Bentley as a conjectural critic Metzger writes that he "largely disregarded the evidence of manuscripts in determining the correct readings, and depended chiefly upon his own instinctive feeling as to what an author must have written."[57] In the fourth edition of *The Text* (with Bart D. Ehrman as co-author) one can also read that "several scholars during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries amused themselves by proposing thousands of conjectural emendations."[58] The idea expressed by such characterisations is that those NT conjectural critics were unscholarly dreamers, whose work had nothing to do with the real developments in the field, and whose proposals did not have any lasting value. This will be the idea that many scholars today will automatically have about Holwerda when they learn that he was a nineteenth-century NT conjectural critic.

1.8 Research Aims

In the above sections, several research aims have already been tentatively indicated. All in all two related but distinguishable aims can be discerned. The first research aim is connected with the basic principle of the Amsterdam research project that conjectures are to be studied as historical phenomena in their own right. Therefore this study seeks, first of all, to grasp Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism as such, apart from the potential strength of individual conjectures. It aims at understanding Holwerda's conjectures as historically situated inventions of a particular mind, recorded in certain publications which have a specific genesis and a distinct effect. It also wants to comprehend Holwerda's conjectural criticism as a whole, concerning both its place in his larger text-critical method and its typology—what kind of conjectures did Holwerda make?

55 The exception is van Beek's 2015 master's thesis about Peerlkamp.

56 See Wettlaufer, *No Longer Written* (2013), pp. 12–14.

57 Metzger, *Text* (^{3}1992), p. 182.

58 Metzger and Ehrman, *Text* (^{4}2005), p. 230.

The second aim has to do with history of scholarship, in three ways. First, this study sets out to contribute to our knowledge of the history of Dutch philological scholarship, by enhancing our knowledge of the Leiden Radical School and its influence; by enriching our knowledge of the Dutch theological world of the middle of the nineteenth century; by adding to the historiography of the Leiden univerisity in this period; and by telling the story of the origin of the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism.

Second, this study wants to broaden our knowledge of a crucial period in the history of NT textual criticism. It relates Holwerda's conjectural criticism to the text-critical developments of this period, and lays bare important differences between Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles.

Third, this study aims at showing in what way Holwerda's emendations are voices in a choir including ancient textual alterations, solutions found in old versions and modern translations, as well as philological and exegetical proposals. Both the second and third aspect of the second research aim also involve a testing of the (negative) ideas about NT conjectural criticism referred to in the previous section.

1.9 Research Questions, Outline, Methods

In order to make the research operational, research questions need to be formulated. The main question, then, is how Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism should be understood. Three subquestions structure the dissertation: First, how should Holwerda's criticism be understood according to its *Sitz im Leben*? (ch. 2). Second, how should it be understood according to its theoretical aspects? (ch. 3). Third, how should it be understood according to the nature of the specific conjectures and their place in the scholarship on the passages concerned? (ch. 4). The two research aims play a part in all three chapters.

The chapters use various methods. Chapter 2 is typically historical research. By scrutinising published and unpublished sources the life of Holwerda is followed from birth to death, though only the information somehow related to his NT conjectural criticism is dealt with.

Chapter 3 is about text-critical theory. Here we move from the realm of history into the realm of philology. The data used are, first of all, scattered theoretical remarks throughout Holwerda's NT publications. On the basis of these remarks, a coherent picture is sketched of the theoretical framework in which Holwerda proposed his conjectures. Besides that, this theoretical framework is brought into connection with the frameworks of contemporary scholars, whose theoretical positions are analysed using both primary and secondary sources.

Chapter 4 is, again, a philological chapter, but here we move from theory to practice. In the first part, a quantitative analysis of Holwerda's conjectures is provided. While the spread of Holwerda's conjectures over biblical books and over his own publications is easily detected, a quantitative analysis of the *nature* of Holwerda's conjectures needs a special tool. This tool is the classification of NT conjectures recently published by the team of the Amsterdam research project.[59] With the help of this classification and relational database software, a precise and complete analysis of Holwerda's corpus of NT conjectures can be made.

The second part of chapter 4 is a qualitative analysis that derives much of its structure from the outcomes of the quantitative analysis, though some substructures result from the qualitative analysis itself. In the qualitative analysis exemplary conjectures are singled out for discussion. In these discussions, the history of scholarship perspective demands that Holwerda's proposals are discussed in the context of the scholarly involvement with the passages from ancient times until today. The substance of the history of scholarship element ranges from short footnotes to extensive expositions.

Each of the chapters 2, 3 and 4 ends with a concluding section, with detailed answers to the respective subquestions. Next, chapter 5 (section 5.1) gets to the heart of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism by means of three paradoxes: Holwerda as son and opponent of Leiden; Holwerda as favouring and rejecting the most ancient readings; and Holwerda's criticism as a window on both his day and the future of the field.

1.10 Miscellaneous

The Amsterdam research project defines conjectural emendation as "the process by which a textual critic emends an allegedly corrupt text by advancing the supposedly original wording, which the critic presumes to be unattested, or, in any case, not uninterruptedly transmitted."[60] The refinement in this definition, in contrast to older definitions, lies especially in the last clause ('or, in any case, not uninterruptedly transmitted'). This means that even if critics find a manuscript or more manuscripts with the reading they presume to be original, they are still endorsing a conjecture if they also assume that the presence of the reading in the manuscript tradition is the result of conjectural emendation

59 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015).

60 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 74.

by a scribe (or scribes). In those cases, the adoption of this reading by modern critics is solely based on internal evidence; the external evidence merely shows it (and a conjecture at that) is very old.[61] In the present study the last clause of our definition is relevant in two cases.[62]

The Amsterdam research project works with the concept of 'Modern Critical Text' (MCT). This term has a fixed general reference and a changing specific reference. First, it denotes the critical text since Lachmann over against the Textus Receptus. Indeed, the differences between for example the edition of Westcott and Hort and the current Editio Critica Maior may well be compared to differences between different instances of the Textus Receptus. Second, the specific reference in this study is the text of NA[28].[63]

Throughout this book NT conjectures will be referred to by means of 5-digit numbers (e.g. [cj11713]); the numbers of Holwerda's conjectures are provided in Appendix 1, the Overview of Holwerda's conjectures. The numbers can be used to find more information on the conjectures in the online *Amsterdam Database*.[64]

On pragmatic grounds, this study does not analyse Holwerda's conjectural criticism on Philo and Josephus.

In the footnotes only short bibliographical refererences are used. In the bibliography these references are accompanied by full references. Some short references are mere abbreviations:

BDAG	Bauer, Danker, Arndt, Gingrich (*Wörterbuch*)
CNTTS	Center for New Testament Textual Studies (*NT Critical Apparatus*)
EB	Elberfelder Bibel
KJV	King James Version = Authorized Version
LB	Lutherbibel
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones (*Lexicon*)
N	Nestle (*Novum Testamentum Graece*)
NA	Nestle-Aland (*Novum Testamentum Graece*)
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible

61 For a further defence of the definition, see chapter 1 in Krans, *Method and History 1* (forthcoming).

62 This concerns the insertion of ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω before ὑπέρ in John 6:51 (see § 4.3.2.2) and the change of προσηνέχθη into προσενεχθῇ in Acts 21:26 (see § 4.3.3.3.1).

63 If the *ECM* text of Acts deviates from the NA[28] text of Acts, this is indicated.

64 Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* (2016). See http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/nt-conjectures.

NBG	Bijbel in de Nieuwe Vertaling
NBV	Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling
NET	New English Translation
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	English Revised Version
Ti	Tischendorf (*Novum Testamentum Graece*)

The following words are abbreviated when used attributively or between brackets:

AR	author-related
ECM	*Editio Critica Maior* (Aland et al., see Bibliography)
MCT	Modern Critical Text
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
PR	passage-related
UBS	United Bible Societies
TR	Textus Receptus
VMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung; http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/home)

For the manuscript and version references used (א vg etc.), see e.g. NA[28], pp. 792–819,882–885.

This study sometimes indicates exact word positions in the Modern Critical Text. For example, Rom 5:6/22 refers to the *eleventh* word in Rom 5:6 in NA[28] (the positions in between two words are counted as well).

Unless otherwise stated, the English translation of Bible passages are from the NRSV.

After the final conclusion in section 5.1 there is a section on possibilities for further research (5.2), an epilogue (5.3), an overview of Holwerda's conjectures (Appendix 1), an appendix on Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus as an underestimated uncial (Appendix 2),[65] a bibliography in five parts, and two indices (one of names and one of ancient writings).

65 About the role of this manuscript in Holwerda's textual criticism, see § 3.5.2.

CHAPTER 2

The *Sitz im Leben* of Holwerda's New Testament Conjectural Criticism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism according to its *Sitz im Leben*. In other words, it analyses this criticism as part of Holwerda's scholarly biography.[1] It relates the course of Holwerda's life; it detects the network of scholars with whom he was associated, in one way or another; it reviews the publications he wrote, especially those in which his NT conjectural criticism is prominent; and it pays attention to the responses to these publications. Chapter 2 not only offers an answer to the first subquestion of this research, but it also provides the necessary background for answering the second and third subquestions (about theoretical aspects and the conjectures themselves respectively).

Besides Holwerda's scholarly publications and reviews of his work, several biographical sources are taken into account. An important source on Holwerda's life is the "Levensbericht van Dr. J. H. Holwerda" by Willem Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen. This is the memorial speech already cited in § 1.1. The printed version also contains a bibliography of Holwerda. Holwerda entries in Dutch biographical encyclopedies are entirely or largely based on this speech.[2]

In addition to van de Sande Bakhuyzen's obituary, we are fortunate to have a short semi-autobiographical publication by Holwerda. This is his 1872 farewell sermon, entitled *Herinneringen van een predikant na één en veertigjarigen dienst* ("Memories of a Minister after Forty-one Years of Service"). Although this booklet certainly provides information about Holwerda as a person, and has also been used for this purpose by van de Sande Bakhuyzen, most of the pages are devoted to the history of nineteenth-century Dutch theology.

A third major source for Holwerda's life, which adds very much to what can be known from *Herinneringen* and van de Sande Bakhuyzen's obituary, is the extensive Holwerda correspondence kept in the library of Leiden University:

1 Of course the term *Sitz im Leben* is borrowed from form criticism, where it denotes the social setting of a given literary genre.

2 See Knipscheer, "Holwerda" (1930); De Bie and Loosjes, *BWPGN4* (1931), pp. 194–196; de Groot, "Holwerda" (1978).

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89 letters from Holwerda and 146 letters to Holwerda.[3] These letters have, thus far, hardly been used as a source for Holwerda's biography.[4] Yet, as wil be shown below, they are crucial to understanding aspects of Holwerda's scholarship.

The present chapter is structured chronologically, from Holwerda's birth in 1805 until his death in 1886, and ends with a concluding section. Of course sometimes it is unavoidable to use flashbacks or to anticipate events. At one point there is extensive background information on Holwerda's scholarship, namely the portrait of the Leiden Radical School sketched in § 2.4.2–4.

2.2 Early Years (1805–1830)

Jan Hendrik Holwerda was born on 16 September 1805 in The Hague into an upper middle class family. The Reformed church in the government town was able to attract talented ministers. Two of them, Isaäc Johannes Dermout (1777–1867)[5] and Jacob Wijs (1793–1828),[6] deeply influenced Holwerda. In his 1872 farewell sermon Holwerda said about Dermout and Wijs:

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3 On the basis of my estimate of the possible relevance for my research, I first studied a selection of about two thirds of the letters. This examination led to a further selection of 50 letters, which were transcribed by Theo van Beek and Riekelt Woort. Eventually, in this study 45 letters are quoted from or referred to (16 from Holwerda, 26 to Holwerda and 3 not from nor to Holwerda; see Bibliography section 2).

4 In his obituary van de Sande Bakhuyzen refers once to a letter from Holwerda (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 88), and once to a letter to Holwerda (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 83). Jacob Geel's letters to Holwerda were consulted by Martha Johanna Hamaker. In her Geel biography she devotes a page to Geel's cordial support to Holwerda that is evidenced by these letters (see Hamaker, *Geel* [1907], pp. 105–106; cf. p. xvii); cf. § 2.6. Willem van den Berg also refers to a letter from Geel to Holwerda in his short biography preceding the recently published introduction to and commentary on Geel's famous *Onderzoek en phantasie* (van den Berg and Gerbrandy, *Onderzoek en phantasie: Inleiding en commentaar* [2012], p. 19).

5 Dermout was a well-known court preacher and church official; see C.J.J. Clements, "Dermout" (1998).

6 After his untimely death, Wijs' published sermons were collected into one volume: Wijs, *Nagelatene leerredenen* (1828). The preface to this volume contains biographical information about Wijs. Among the many subscribers to Wijs' *Nagelaten leerredenen* one also finds, on p. xvii, "Holwerda, (J.H.) *te 's Gravenhage*" (original italics). In 1828 the 23-year-old Holwerda was still studying in Leiden, but since his father had become seriously ill in December 1827 he was living again in his parental home in The Hague (see Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 70 n. 1).

> The former I adored. Willingly and automatically I bowed to his powerful mind. The latter particularly attracted me through his attempts to understand the Bible well and explain it to others. Both exerted more influence on me than they ever knew or even suspected.[7]

Perhaps it was Holwerda's admiration for his ministers that made him want to become a minister himself too. At the Latin school, Holwerda was educated by Johannes Bosscha (1797–1874), who would later become professor of 'classical studies' at the Amsterdam Athenaeum,[8] and by rector Johannes Kappeyne van de Coppello (1790–1833), who wrote a textbook for Greek language at Latin schools.[9] Holwerda was especially attached to the latter.[10]

In 1823 Holwerda went to Leiden to study theology. Before students could engage with theology, they had to attend a propaedeutic programme involving, among other things, Greek and Latin.[11] In these preparatory studies the young Holwerda drew the attention of the classicists John Bake (1787–1864) and Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp (1786–1865). In 1824 Bake and Peerlkamp started to give courses for advanced students, in which Holwerda most probably partook.[12]

Kappeyne van de Coppello had always wanted Holwerda to devote himself entirely to classical studies, and now tried to dissuade him from theology by offering him a position as 'praeceptor' (teacher) at the Latin school in The Hague. But, as van de Sande Bakhuyzen writes: Holwerda "felt too strongly attracted to theology to accept this invitation."[13]

In 1826–1827 Holwerda, already studying theology, won an essay competition on ancient scepticism held by the arts faculty.[14] The jury particularly appreci-

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7 "Den eersten vereerde ik. Gewillig en als van zelf boog ik mij voor zijn machtigen geest. De andere trok mij vooral aan door zijne pogingen, om den Bijbel goed te begrijpen en voor anderen duidelijk te maken. Beiden hebben grooteren invloed op mijne vorming gehad, dan zij ooit geweten, of zelfs vermoed hebben" (Holwerda, *Herinneringen* [1872], p. 9).

8 About Bosscha, see e.g. Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 501–503.

9 Kappeyne van de Coppello, *Rudimenta* (1822). The classicist Johannes Kappeyne van de Coppello should not be confused with his son, the famous liberal politician Johannes Kappeyne van de Coppello (1822–1895), who was prime minister from 1877 to 1879.

10 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 72.

11 See Willem Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* (1992), p. 407.

12 Cf. the remark of van de Sande Bakhuyzen that Holwerda was soon noticed as a student by Bake and Peerlkamp (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 72).

13 "voelde zich te zeer aangetrokken door de theologie om aan die uitnoodiging gehoor te geven" ("Holwerda" [1886], p. 72).

14 Holwerda, "Responsio" (1828).

ated the structure of his essay and his independent use of the ancient sources.[15] In 1830 Holwerda finished his theological studies with a dissertation on the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus (John 3:1–21).[16] One of his conclusions is that John 3:16–21 (beginning with "For God so loved the world") cannot have been spoken by Jesus himself, but is composed by the evangelist.[17] In the theses accompanying the dissertation we already see some examples of conjectural criticism, Holwerda proposing emendations to Plato and Eusebius,[18] as well as on the Gospel of John itself. Defending the apostolic authorship of chapter 21,[19] Holwerda makes an exception for verses 24 and 25 ("This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them").[20] While in present-day scholarship such a proposal would generally be regarded as source- or redaction-critical, Holwerda himself most probably thought along the lines of conjectural criticism.[21] In fact, the omission of John 21:24–25 as a textual conjecture is at least as old as Henry Hammond's 1653 *Paraphrase*.[22]

2.3 Ministry (1831–1872)

After having ministered in the Dutch Reformed Church in Delft (1831–1835) and Assen (1835–1837), in 1837 Holwerda was called to Gorinchem, where he would carry out his office until his superannuation in 1872. In 1838 Holwerda married Theodorica Catharina Bertling (1810–1900), with whom he got seven children.

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15 See "Judicia" (1828), p. 22.

16 This passage was suggested to Holwerda by Dermout, Holwerda's supervisor being Joannes Clarisse (1770–1846); see Holwerda, *Dissertatio* (1830), p. [i]. I do not know of any reference to Clarisse in Holwerda's publications and letters, which indicates that he did not exert much influence on Holwerda. Neither have I found references to the other members of Leiden's theological faculty who taught Holwerda, Joannes van Voorst (1757–1833) and Nicolaas Christiaan Kist (1793–1859). Holwerda does, however, refer regularly (especially in *Betrekking* [1853], and mostly positively) to the NT translation of the famous Johan Hendrik van der Palm (*Bijbel 3: NV* [1830]), the theologian who, from the Faculty of Arts, instructed theological students in sacred rhetoric.

17 Holwerda, *Dissertatio* (1830), p. 61.

18 Holwerda, *Dissertatio* (1830), p. 66, the seventh thesis.

19 That John 21 was written by someone other than the writer of the rest of the Gospel was already defended by Hugo Grotius, as well as by many other scholars in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; see [cj11560].

20 Holwerda, *Dissertatio* (1830), p. 65, the first thesis.

21 About the relationship between conjectural and source-criticism in the nineteenth century, see § 1.5.

22 Hammond, *Paraphrase* (1653), p. 362; see [cj12008].

Only in his farewell sermon did Holwerda share with his congregation that his work as a minister had been a real struggle for him. In the middle of the 1830s, Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* the first thoroughgoing mythological interpretation of the gospels, had made a profound impression on him, which was only strengthened by the fierce, almost unanimous, and in his eyes unfair opposition to the book in the Netherlands.[23] Many publications were directed against the Tübingen 'apostle of unbelief',[24] and for ministers it was commonplace to reassure their congregations, which were generally orthodox in the mid-nineteenth century, by refuting the Tübingen modernism. Holwerda felt his congregation expected him to do so as well, but he could not, since he had not found any convincing refutation of Strauss' radical historical criticism. In his farewell sermon Holwerda relates his desperate and futile quest for books that would provide him with good reasons to stick to the faith of his youth. For Holwerda convictions could only be meaningful as far as they resulted from critical investigation of facts, and none of the refutations of Strauss that appeared were based on such a truly critical historical investigation.[25]

For most of his life, Holwerda tried to keep his crisis of faith hidden from his congregation:

> Therefore I do not hesitate to declare that I never rejected anything; but I do have to acknowledge that I have lost much, very much of what was drummed into me in my early days; moreover, this I have lost irrevocably, precisely because I had tried everything to keep it, if possible. Whereas I found peace and frankness for myself this way, because of it a gap also gradually arose between me and the ministry I had been called to.[26]

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23 Holwerda, *Herinneringen* (1872), pp. 11–12.

24 For the reception of Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* in the Netherlands, see Obbink, *Strauss* (1973).

25 Holwerda, *Herinneringen* (1872), especially pp. 18–25.

26 "Gerustelijk durf ik dan ook verklaren, dat ik nooit iets heb verworpen; maar wel moet ik bekennen, dat veel, zeer veel van hetgeen mij in mijne jeugd was ingeprent, mij ontvallen is; en wel, onherroepelijk ontvallen, juist omdat ik alles had aangewend, om het, indien mogelijk, te behouden. Gelijk ik langs dien weg voor mijzelven rust en vrijmoedigheid vond, zoo ontstond daardoor tevens ongevoelig eene klove tusschen mij en het ambt, waartoe ik was geroepen" (Holwerda, *Herinneringen* [1872], p. 26). Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, who was closely in touch with Holwerda after the latter's superannuation (see van de Sande Bakhuyzen, letters to Holwerda, 1873–1881), writes about Holwerda's faith: "in reality he had kept more of his former views than he was willing to acknowledge to himself" ("in werkelijkheid had hij meer van zijne vroegere denkbeelden behouden dan hij zichzelven wel wilde bekennen"; van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 90).

What remained untouched for Holwerda, however, and what for him also was the essence of Jesus' teaching and life, indeed, the essence of Christianity, was *love*. From the perspective of love, the common idea of what it is to be a Christian may be turned upside down. After quoting from 1Cor 13 Holwerda states:

> What, then, would that Apostle say of people—there are many of them, unfortunately!—who attach to dogma's … such absolute value, that they condemn, even detest those in disagreement? … All theology, including even the most sound, is different from religiosity, is different from Christianity.[27]

Reading Holwerda's farewell sermon, in which he extensively discusses the various theological schools in the Dutch nineteenth century, may lead one to think that Holwerda was primarily interested in theology. However, Holwerda was a "philologist to the core,"[28] as van de Sande Bakhuyzen rightly puts it, who tried to keep theology away from his philological investigations (and not without success, as chapter 4 will demonstrate).

2.4 *Emendationum Flavianarum specimen* (1847) and the Leiden Radical School

2.4.1 Emendationum Flavianarum specimen

Although Holwerda had preferred theology to classical studies, he continued to engage with profane Greek literature in the parsonage. This was more than a hobby: Holwerda hoped that his study of other Greek literature would help him to understand the New Testament better. He became acquainted with Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato and Aristophanes. However, his focus was, naturally, on later authors: Plutarch, and, even more, Philo and Josephus.[29]

In fact, Holwerda did more than merely *read* profane Greek. From a letter to Bake, dated 11 August 1840, it becomes clear that Holwerda was planning

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27 "Wat zou die Apostel dan wel zeggen van lieden, zoo als er helaas! velen gevonden worden, die aan leerstellingen … zulk eene overweegende waarde hechten, dat zij andersdenkenden veroordelen, ja zelfs verfoeien? … Alle godgeleerdheid, de degelijkste zelfs niet uitgezonderd, is iets anders, dan godsdienstigheid, is iets anders, dan christendom" (Holwerda, *Herinneringen* [1872], pp. 45–46).

28 "philoloog in merg en been" (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 89).

29 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 73.

to *publish* on ancient Greek comedy (and that Bake had responded favourably to some draft).[30] To my knowledge, such a publication never appeared. However, in the same letter Holwerda brings to the notice of his teacher that he recently has worked his way, for the second time, through all of Josephus' works. While doing so, many textual emendations occurred to him, while he also noticed remarkable differences in language in the *Antiquities* between the end of book 15 to book 19 and book 20. He asks Bake to inform him about recent scholarship on Josephus and to provide him with some books he has to take into account before publishing on Josephus.

Such a publication would come indeed: in 1847 the 163-page *Emendationum Flavianarum specimen* appeared, in which Holwerda offers a text-critical discussion of about two hundred passages in *Antiquitates*, *Vita*, *Bellum* and *Contra Apionem*.[31] He also introduces new readings from an eleventh- or perhaps twelfth-century Leiden manuscript of books 11–15 of the *Antiquities*, which had not been collated yet.[32] With his *Specimen* Holwerda wanted to demonstrate that a new critical edition was needed,[33] and also what such an edition would look like were he himself to be the editor.

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30 Holwerda, letter to Bake, 11 Aug. 1840, f. 1r.

31 The title—"A Sample of Flavian Emendations"—may suggest that Holwerda exclusively goes beyond the manuscripts in this book. He does make dozens of conjectures, but in many cases he also thinks a variant reading in the apparatus of the Hudson and Havercamp edition (1726) should be considered original. The point is that the word 'emendation' meant something different for nineteenth-century critics than it means today. Whereas nowadays it functions as an equivalent of 'conjecture', for them it referred to any improvement of the vulgate text, whether by picking another reading or by conjecturing one themselves. See e.g. Jan Krans, "Conjectural emendation" (2013), p. 614.

32 *Iosephi Antiquitatum XI–XV* (1050–1100?); this manuscript has the siglum 'L' in Niese's Josephus edition; see Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera 3* (1892), pp. v–vi.

33 According to Holwerda, Richter's edition (Carolus Ernestus Richter, *Flavii Josephi Judaei Opera omnia* [1826–1827]) is largely a repetition of Hudson and Havercamp's 1726 *Opera Omnia* (John Hudson and Siwart Havercamp, *Flavii Josephi opera omnia* [1726]); Cardwell's edition of the *Jewish War* (Edward Cardwell, *Flavii Josephi De bello Judaico* [1837]) does not add much to Hudson and Havercamp. In 1845, Holwerda having worked on Josephus for some years already, Wilhelm Dindorf came with a new critical text of all Josephus' works (*Φλάβιου Ἰώσηπου Τὰ εὑρισκόμενα* [1845–1847]). However, Holwerda still thinks his own edition is needed: Dindorf too often has left passages untouched that were in need of conjectural emendation; besides, his edition does not contain a critical apparatus. See Holwerda, *Specimen* (1847), p. [ii].

Holwerda's study was received enthusiastically by Bake and Geel,[34] who also had supported Holwerda in its realisation.[35] The Faculty of Arts even decided to confer a doctorate *honoris causa* to Holwerda.[36] Unfortunately, however, Holwerda could not fulfill his ambition to edit an *editio critica maior*: for the publisher, Jacobus Noorduyn, there were not enough subscribers to take the risk of investing in such a large-scale project.[37]

2.4.2 *Rise of the Leiden Radical School*

Holwerda's *Specimen* cannot be dissociated from the developments in the study of classical literature that took place in the first half of the nineteenth century at Leiden University and from there in the Netherlands as a whole. Whereas during the professorship of Daniel Albert Wyttenbach (1746–1820, professor in Leiden 1799–1817) the focus had been on Greek philosophy at the expense of philology, with John Bake (already mentioned above), professor from 1815 to 1857, a new period began at the Leiden Faculty of Arts—and in Dutch classical scholarship. The contents of ancient writings became less important than their form; it was all about establishing the text, understanding the grammar and enjoying the style.[38] Bake had been a student of Wyttenbach, but came under the influence of the Cambridge scholar Peter Paul Dobree (1782–1825) and the Oxford scholar Thomas Gaisford (1779–1855).

Dobree visited Leiden in 1815 to study the notes of the famous Dutch classicist Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715–1785); one year later Gaisford stayed

34 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 74.

35 See Holwerda, *Specimen* (1847), pp. ii–iii.

36 To be precise, Holwerda became 'philosophiae theoreticae magister, litterarum humaniorum doctor'; see "Akademie-nieuws" (1848), p. 3 (in which newspaper article Holwerda's initials are rendered incorrectly as "J.W."). Cf. Geel, letter to Holwerda, 16 Feb. 1848, f. 1r.

37 See van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), pp. 74–75; see further § 2.3.1. The scholarly world had to wait a few decades longer for a Josephus *editio critica maior* to appear; from 1885 to 1895 Benedikt Niese published his *Flavii Iosephi opera* (1885–1895) in Berlin, mentioning in the apparatus dozens of Holwerda conjectures, some of which he also approves of (e.g. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera 3* [1892], pp. 53 and 216). In the same years (1888–1896), Samuel Adrianus Naber published a *Flavii Iosephi Opera omnia* for the Teubner series (1888–1896), in which he not only makes use of Holwerda's published work on Josephus, but also of an "unused treasure of observations" handed to him after Holwerda's death (1886) by his son, Antonie Ewoud Holwerda (1845–1922) ("inexhaustam gazam observationum," Naber, *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia 1* [1888] p. v; cf. vol. 3 [1892], p. vi and vol. 5 [1895], pp. vii–viii). Van de Sande Bakhuyzen remarks that Holwerda also left a "lexicon Flavianum" made for private use (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 75).

38 Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), especially p. 114.

in Leiden for four months as part of his preparation of an edition of the Suda. Both scholars were representatives of the so-called 'Porsonian School', a group of mainly Cambridge classical scholars with an interest in text and language of especially Attic drama, working in the spirit of the great Cambridge Grecian Richard Porson (1759–1808).[39] Dobree, about whom Martin Lowther Clarke says that he was "most akin to his master in fastidious accuracy, skill in emendation and appreciation of the niceties of Greek diction,"[40] and especially Gaisford, who in his many editions mainly built on previous scholarship,[41] introduced Bake to a whole new world.[42]

Already in his 1817 inaugural address *Oratio de custodia veteris doctrinae et elegantiae, praecipuo grammatici officio* (*Oration on the Care of Ancient Learning and Taste, the Chief Duty of a Philologist*) a new programme for the study of classical literature at the Leiden Faculty of Arts is clearly discernible. A classical scholar, according to Bake, should first and foremost pay attention to language itself.[43] Besides, he should be critical towards the texts as transmitted, and not hesitate to emend what is corrupt.[44] The study of classical literature certainly has an educational value, but this value does not primarily lie, as his predecessor Wyttenbach had it, in the truth of its philosophy; it lies in the beauty of its form.[45]

In 1822 two scholars occupied a position in Leiden who would partner up with Bake in shaping the new classical philology. Petrus Hofman Peerlkamp (1786–1865) became professor of letters and history, and Jacob Geel (1789–1862) became second librarian in the University Library (from 1833 onwards first librarian).[46] Bake, Geel and Peerlkamp would bring about together what they themselves considered a revival of the great Dutch philology of the eighteenth century, the so-called Schola Hemsterhusiana.[47] For reasons provided in the

39 See Clarke, *Greek Studies* (1945), pp. 85–101. Porson's criticism, which is notable among other things for the successful conjectures he made, owes much to the Greek scholarship of the one British critic to whom he is generally placed second: Richard Bentley (1662–1742). Thus, there is a historical chain that connects the two most famous conjectural critics of all times, Bentley and Carel Gabriël Cobet (1813–1889), Bake's famous pupil (see § 2.4.4).

40 Clarke, *Greek Studies* (1945), p. 89.

41 Clarke, *Greek Studies* (1945), pp. 99–100.

42 See Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 70, 89, 112–114.

43 Bake, *De custodia* (1817), pp. 14–18.

44 Bake, *De custodia* (1817), p. 18.

45 Bake, *De custodia* (1817), p. 15.

46 See Hamaker, *Geel* (1907), p. 43.

47 See e.g. Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana* (1940), pp. 369–383. The *Schola Hemsterhu-*

next section I propose to label the school initiated by Bake the 'Leiden Radical School'.[48] Holwerda's *Specimen*, with its many conjectures, should be seen as a product of this school.

2.4.3 *Characteristics of the Leiden Radical School*

Although Bake *cum suis* regarded their work as continuing the line that was broken by Wyttenbach,[49] Schouten shows that the Leiden Radical School differed from the School of Hemsterhuis in that its field of interest was smaller. In the Schola Hemsterhusiana a broad conception of philology was prevalent: philology was not only about text and language, but also about history, culture and ideas. In this regard, Dutch eighteenth-century philology contained the seeds of what would flourish fully in the German Altertumswissenschaft.[50] To this school of Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824), which wanted to look at the ancient world from all angles, including the non-textual remains, the Leiden Radical School, with its focus on text and language, was diametrically opposed.[51] While the Germans accused the Dutch of being narrow-minded, the Dutch blamed the Germans for lack of accuracy.[52]

Another difference between the eighteenth-century Leiden critics and their nineteenth-century successors is that the latter went further in the use of conjectural emendation. For example, the 784 conjectures on Horace's *Carmina* by Peerlkamp[53] betray a much more critical attitude towards the transmitted text

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siana started with Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685–1766) and culminated in the scholarship of Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715–1785).

48 Though Dirk Schouten, in his *Het Grieks aan de Nederlandse universiteiten in de negentiende eeuw* (1964), convincingly demonstrates that Bake set the course for the study of Greek in the Dutch nineteenth century, he does not come up with a name for the school initiated by Bake. The historian Willem Otterspeer speaks of the "Leidse kritische school"—the "Leiden Critical School" (Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* [1992], p. 213), a less felicitous designation, since textual scholarship is critical by definition. Off target is the label 'Cobet's School' (see e.g. Nestle, *Einführung* [1897], p. 123; Kenney, *Classical text* [1974], p. 117); cf. § 2.4.4.

49 Cf. Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 32–41.

50 See e.g. Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana* (1940), p. 373.

51 This is more true of Bake than of Geel and Peerlkamp, and probably most true of Cobet (see § 2.4.4), who completely ignored his eastern neighbours. See Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 89–92, 115–116, 204; about Geel being more interested in the German developments than Bake, see Hamaker, *Geel* (1907), pp. 40–42.

52 See e.g. Hamaker, *Geel* (1907), p. 38.

53 Peerlkamp, *Horatii Carmina* (^{1}1834, ^{2}1862). For a recent and extensive discussion, see Øst-

than evidenced by the most conjecture-minded exponent of the Schola Hemsterhusiana, Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715–1785).[54]

Besides its emphasis on philology proper, another characteristic of the study of classical literature as initiated by Bake is that research is supposed to be conducted 'scientifically' ('wetenschappelijk'):[55] statements should be preceded by collection and analysis of textual data. The scientific study of text and language is not a necessary evil. It is not the door one has to open in order to enter the world of ancient ideas and narratives, which have the potential of making one a better human being—the neo-humanistic conception of classical studies. On the contrary: one studies text and language for no other reason than for the sake of text and language themselves; as a form of scientific research this study is rewarding in that one grows intellectually and esthetically.[56] Moreover, the field of philology proper is much more suitable to facilitate such growth than 'softer' domains of 'humanities'. In these domains the scholar's personal involvement in the subject of his research precludes an objective, detached approach—the type of approach that has put an end to all sorts of misconceptions, prejudices and superstition in the natural sciences.[57]

Therefore, Bake argued in an 1847 lecture at the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten ("Royal Netherlands Institute of Sciences, Letters and Arts"), philology remains important "as an active and necessary ingredient of the present civilisation."[58] Bake dramatically invokes the image of how philology has always been the one place where 'reason', being abused in such sciences as philosophy, theology, history and law, finds a place to flourish:

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moe, *Poeta noster* (2014), pp. 131–192 (see p. 142 for a schematic overview of Peerlkamp's conjectures).

54 Cf. e.g. Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana* (1940), pp. 273, 377.

55 The Dutch language does not have an equivalent of the English distinction between exact 'science' and humanities 'scholarship'; both words are renderend as 'wetenschap'. Therefore it depends on the context how the Dutch 'wetenschap' and its derivations are to be translated. For Bake the word 'wetenschap' probably meant as much as 'science'. The point he makes is that philology, in contrast to vaguer branches of 'humanities' such as history, is really 'scientific', that is, employs the basic scientific method of data collection and rational analysis (see main text below). Therefore Bake's 'wetenschappelijk' is best translated as 'scientific(ally)'.

56 See e.g. Bake, "Philologie" (1847), p. 164.

57 See Bake, "Philologie" (1847), pp. 172–173.

58 "dat de philologie een werkzaam en noodzakelijk bestanddeel is der tegenwoordige beschaving" (Bake, "Philologie" [1847], p. 154).

> Where was it that [reason] was supposed to practise free and rigorous research into a deeply hidden truth? Where was the unspoiled sense of beauty, where was taste, which is nothing but a higher talent for truth, supposed to find development and nourishment? Where else but in philology, with its completely neutral subject, which belongs to a world and a society that is no longer our; with its criticism and interpretation, which can only have truth as their goal, which deny every prejudice and every zealotry (even in their own subject). With these weapons it challenges as much the most venerated authority in the broad world of views as the reading of a single word or syllable in its manuscripts. This is what offers the strongest resistance to the despotism of all kinds of wild scientific theories; this is what offers the antidote to the corrupting bad taste of the mass of contemporary literature.[59]

In other words, philology is a form of critical thinking, and since society needs critical thinkers, philology remains highly important (notwithstanding the major changes that are taking place due to developments in the natural sciences). As a form of opposition based on critical reasoning, conjectural emendation prepares one for going against what threatens society. One could typify Bake's conception as a form of 'enlightenment philology', analogous to the contemporary German critical historiography:[60] the true philologist dares to think for himself and to go against the authority of what is handed down. Bake's view on philology evidently influenced Holwerda (see e.g. § 2.8.5 and § 2.13).

2.4.4 *The Apogee of the Leiden Radical School: Cobet*

The Leiden Radical School had its apogee in the scholarship of Carel Gabriël Cobet (1813–1889), who also played an important role in Holwerda's scholar-

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59 "Waar moest het zich oefenen in het vrije en strenge onderzoek naar eene diep verborgen waarheid? Waar zou het onbedorven gevoel voor het schoone, waar de smaak, die niets anders dan een hoogere aanleg tot waarheid is, ontwikkeling en voedsel vinden? Waar anders, dan in de philologie met haar geheel onzijdig object, behoorende tot eene wereld en eene maatschappij, die niet meer de onze is;—met hare kritiek en interpretatie, die geen ander doel kunnen hebben dan waarheid, die elk vooroordeel en elke dweeperij, zelfs die met haar eigen object, van zich afwerpen. Met die wapens bestrijdt zij evenzeer het meest geëerbiedigd gezag in de ruime gedachten-wereld, als de lezing van een enkel woord of syllabe in hare Handschriften. Zij is het, die den krachtigsten weêrstand biedt aan het despotisme van allerlei wilde wetenschappelijke theoriën; zij is het, die het tegengif aanbiedt van den alles verdervenden wansmaak eener alles overstroomende hedendaagsche literatuur" (Bake, "Philologie" [1847], p. 173).

60 Cf. e.g. Störig, *Weltgeschichte der Wissenschaft* 2 (1992), pp. 221–222.

ship, both positively (see § 2.5) and negatively (see § 2.16.3). Cobet's life and work have been described extensively.[61] He is one of the most famous Greek scholars of all times, though his conjectural criticism has generally been deemed too radical.

One often speaks of 'the school of Cobet', as if something entirely new started with the scholarship of this language genius (see p. 28 n. 48). Schouten, however, has sufficiently demonstrated that Cobet appeared on the stage at a time when Bake, Geel and Peerlkamp had already clearly indicated the direction of Dutch classical philology. On the other hand, it would take a Cobet to give the Leiden Radical School both national dominance and international allure. What made Cobet an exceptional scholar was—apart from his beautiful Latin—his unparalleled knowledge of Greek combined with a deep intimacy with manuscripts.[62] After having studied Greek manuscripts in European libraries for about five years (1840–1845), Cobet was able to defend textual conjectures, which form the body of his published work, not only on the basis of his superior knowledge of Greek in the different periods, but also on the basis of common corruptions as evidenced by the codices.

One could say that Cobet further narrowed the Leiden philology in two respects. First, his field of interest was even narrower than that of Bake: Cobet definitely did pay attention to grammar and style, but knowledge thereof was mainly in the service of emending the text. In a way, for Cobet philology boiled down to textual criticism (and textual criticism boiled down to conjectural criticism). Second, since Cobet dedicated himself entirely to Greek literature, and his colleagues who taught Latin (from 1858 to 1862 Johannes Gerrit Hulleman, from 1862 to 1879 Willem George Pluygers) were by no means of his stature, Latin was outshone by Greek in the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Leiden. By contrast, in the second quarter Bake's Greek had had a worthy counterpart in Peerlkamp's Latin.

As a teacher, Cobet inspired a whole generation of students. One by one, his students occupied professorships for classical literature (both Greek and Latin) at one of the Dutch universities: in 1864 Henricus van Herwerden (1831–1910) in Utrecht, in 1871 Samuel Adrianus Naber (1828–1913) in Amsterdam, in 1877 Tjalling Halbertsma (1829–1894) in Groningen; Cobet himself was, finally, succeeded by Jan van Leeuwen (1850–1924) in 1884. Besides, van Herwerden's predecessor in Utrecht, Simon Karsten (1802–1864; professorship in 1840), and

61 See e.g. Naber, *Vier tijdgenooten* (1894), pp. 159–357; Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 124–233.

62 See e.g. Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), pp. 206–209; Sandys, *History 3* (1958), p. 285.

Halbertsma's predecessor in Groningen, Cornelis Marinus Francken (1820–1900; professorship in 1856) were also influenced by Cobet's textual criticism.[63] Therefore Dutch students of theology in the second half of the nineteenth century, being taught Greek by classicists at the beginning of their studies, increasingly became familiar with the phenomenon of 'textual conjecture'. This must have contributed to the positive reception of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism in these years.

2.5 In Contact with Cobet (from 1847 Onwards)

Cobet's influence on Holwerda was direct. Holwerda read Cobet's work, Cobet read Holwerda's work and gave him feedback; they also discussed text-critical matters in conversations. Like most scholars who came in touch with Cobet, Holwerda was deeply impressed by him. In the case of Holwerda this is telling, since, as will be shown particularly in § 2.8.2, there was hardly any contemporary scholar Holwerda looked up to, no matter how high their status in the field. For Cobet, however, Holwerda bowed deeply. In a footnote in his first Dutch NT publication, *De betrekking van het verstand tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel* (1853), he writes:

> Nobody can respect Prof. Cobet more highly than I do, nobody can have a more burning desire to learn much from him. I even willingly admit that the criticism I wish to apply to the New Testament is his. Not only through his well-known *annotatio*, but also through the conversations I was allowed to have with him a few times, he has shed light on many things, which I hope to have used not too clumsily.[64]

These are exceptionally humble words for someone like Holwerda. They seem to allow the straightforward interpretation that Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism simply is the application of Cobet's criticism to the New Testament. However, that is jumping to conclusions.

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63 See Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), p. 330 (Karsten) and pp. 462–463 (Francken).

64 "Niemand kan Prof. Cobet meer hoogachten dan ik, niemand kan vuriger wenschen veel van hem te leeren. Ik kom er zelfs gaarne voor uit, dat het zijne kritiek is, die ik op het N.T. wensch toe te passen. Niet alleen door zijne bekende annotatio, maar ook door de gesprekken, die ik een paar malen met hem mogt houden, heeft hij over vele zaken een licht voor mij doen opgaan, waarvan ik hoop niet al te onhandig gebruik te hebben gemaakt" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 93 n. 1).

Let us first look closely at what Holwerda is saying here. He speaks about Cobet's "well-known *annotatio*." This refers to the more than hundred pages of *annotationes* Cobet added to his 1846 Leiden inaugural lecture, with conjectures on many different Greek authors.[65] With these *annotationes* Cobet earned a reputation as a brilliant conjectural critic.[66] Holwerda also speaks about a few "conversations" with the master that were granted him. Holwerda's first encounter with Cobet must have taken place somewhere between 3 November 1846 and 29 February 1852. In a letter to Geel, dated 3 November 1846, Holwerda asks Geel to send his regards to Bake and Cobet "though I have never seen the latter."[67] The date of this letter therefore is the *terminus a quo* for the first encounter between Cobet and Holwerda. The oldest of the five letters from Cobet to Holwerda available in the Leiden library is dated 29 February 1852; it concerns a response to a letter from Holwerda to Cobet (which is lost since Cobet did not keep his correspondence).[68] In this letter, with the salutation "Esteemed friend"[69] Cobet, among other things, asks Holwerda to stay for a few days in his house during the coming Easter holidays.[70] This implies that both men had already met face to face, making this letter the *terminus ante quem* for the first meeting.

That the acquaintance of Holwerda and Cobet already dates from the late 1840s is suggested by a remark of Cobet in a letter that is not dated, but was almost certainly written in 1853. It contains feedback (partly affirmative, partly critical) on a draft of Holwerda's *Betrekking* (1853). Noorduyn, Holwerda's publisher, received it too late to be able to add this feedback as an epilogue to *Betrekking*, but was willing to publish it as a small separate supplement.[71] In the undated letter—and also, somewhat clumsily, in the printed supplement—Cobet reminds Holwerda of a conversation about 1 Cor 15:1 that they had "already a long time ago."[72]

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65 Cobet, *De arte interpretandi* (1847), pp. 37–159.

66 See e.g. Naber, *Vier tijdgenooten* (1894), p. 205.

67 "schoon ik den laatsten nog nimmer heb gezien" (Holwerda, letter to Geel, 3 Nov. 1846, f. 1^{v}).

68 See Fruin and van der Mey in Cobet, *Brieven aan Geel* (1891), p. vii.

69 "Geachte vriend" (Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 29 Feb. 1852, f. 1^{r}).

70 Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 29 Feb. 1852, f. 1$^{r–v}$.

71 Cobet and Geel, "Bijvoegselen" (1853), p. i. I have seen a copy of *Betrekking* in which the supplement with Cobet's feedback (and, in fact, also one remark by Geel) is included; apparently, there was at least one reprint of the book.

72 "reeds langgeleden" (Cobet, response to Holwerda's *Betrekking* [1853], f. 1^{v}); "reeds lang geleden" (Cobet in Cobet and Geel, "Bijvoegselen" [1853], p. ii).

As mentioned, in 1847 Holwerda published his Josephus *Specimen*, and at the beginning of 1848 he was granted an honorary doctorate from the faculty at which Cobet was appointed professor in 1846. As evidenced by Holwerda's correspondence, from this moment onwards Holwerda and Geel became close.[73] The obvious scenario is that Holwerda met Cobet sometime in 1847 or 1848 while visiting Geel in Leiden.

As regards Cobet's influence on Holwerda, the following preliminary conclusions can be drawn. First of all, Holwerda's Josephus conjectural criticism antedates his acquaintance with Cobet's conjectural criticism; Cobet's *annotationes* to his *Oratio* were published in the same year Holwerda's *Specimen* was published (1847). Holwerda's conjectural criticism is rooted in the teaching and examples of Bake and Peerlkamp, who had taught Holwerda to be suspicious of the transmitted text, and not to be afraid to emend it *ope ingenii*.

However, after having published his Josephus conjectures, Holwerda came under the spell of Cobet's peculiar style of conjectural criticism, both by reading his *annotationes* and through conversations. He was so impressed by the strokes of genius of the young Leiden professor that he described, in 1853, his NT conjectural criticism as an attempt to do for the New Testament what Cobet did for profane Greek literature. In chapters 3 and 4 the nature of Cobet's influence on Holwerda will be discussed.

2.6 Rejected by van Hengel (1849–1851)

2.6.1 *Hamaker's Observation*

Holwerda's first publication in which he applied the Leiden method to the NT text is his controversial 1853 *De betrekking van het verstand tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel*. In order to understand this important little book, one has to take into account a curious part of Holwerda's biography: van Hengel's rejection of Holwerda in the late 1840s. Ever since Martha Johanna Hamaker's 1905 biography of Jacob Geel it has been known that Geel wanted Holwerda to succeed Wessel Albertus van Hengel (1779–1871)—the NT professor in Leiden from 1827 to 1849—but that the latter defeated his plans.[74] Hamaker knew about this his-

73 The Leiden University Library has 52 letters from Geel to Holwerda, spanning 1847 to 1858 (two letters undated), as well as a positive evaluation of Holwerda's work on Josephus which Geel sent to Bake in 1845.

74 See Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* (1992), pp. 62–63; Aalders, "Een mislukt project" (2004), pp. 6–17; n. 28; cf. de Groot, "Holwerda" (1978), p. 91.

tory because she had read Geel's letters to Holwerda.[75] Her brief sketch of the intrigues, however, is not entirely correct. According to Hamaker, Holwerda had antagonised van Hengel by being very critical of van Hengel's work.[76] As will be shown below, it is just the opposite: van Hengel's rejection (in the late 1840s) led Holwerda to write very critical about van Hengel (in 1853). But let us begin at the beginning and tell the whole story, as can be reconstructed from Holwerda's correspondence.

2.6.2 *Holwerda's Essay*

After the publication of the Josephus *Specimen*, Geel urged Holwerda to try to become van Hengel's successor, the above mentioned professor in Leiden. Van Hengel was the most important Dutch scholar in the mid-nineteenth century as regards NT exegesis, being praised for his precise, grammatical analysis.[77] Geel brought up his idea for the first time in a letter to Holwerda dated 21 December 1847. He points out that van Hengel is 69 years old and will probably retire shortly. He advises Holwerda to write something that catches the eye of the theological world, and also promises to support him if he will indeed try to occupy the Leiden chair.[78]

Holwerda's letters to Geel are probably lost, but, fortunately, an 1858 letter from Holwerda to his friend Gerbrand Vissering (1813–1869) makes clear how Holwerda responded to Geel's proposal: although it gave him a fright, he could not refuse it because of his children (a professor making more money than a minister).[79] Holwerda took up the challenge and wrote an exegetical essay on 1 Pet 3:18–4:6, the passage about Christ's descent into hell. He sent his work to Geel, who responded positively in a letter dated 25 September 1848. Geel only wonders whether Holwerda's independent interpretation of such a dogmatically charged passage may turn out to obstruct his professorial ambitions. Since Geel is not a theologian and therefore feels incapable of assessing the situation, he proposes to forward Holwerda's manuscript to van Hengel himself. Geel thinks van Hengel will, in any case, appreciate the philological qualities of Holwerda's work. Even if he would dissuade Holwerda from publishing it because of strategic considerations, it would increase Holwerda's chances to

75 See p. 20 n. 4. Cf. Hamaker's quotation from Geel's letter to Holwerda, 26 Feb. 1849, on p. 105 of her *Geel* (1907).

76 Adopted by Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* (1992), p. 63, and, referring to Otterspeer, by Aalders, "Een mislukt project" (2004), n. 28.

77 See e.g. de Jonge, "Van Hengel" (1998).

78 Geel, letter to Holwerda, 21 Dec. 1847, f. 1r.

79 Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 27 Nov. 1858, f. 1r.

become van Hengel's successor.[80] To be sure, professors had a strong hold on the appointment of their successors by that time, in any case in the Netherlands.[81]

Holwerda agreed with Geel's plan. Only three months later (on the assumption Holwerda kept all Geel's letters) there is another letter from Geel to Holwerda, dated 7 January 1849, accompanied by Holwerda's manuscript with critical notes by van Hengel. Geel relates that he constantly had to badger van Hengel to read Holwerda's treatise, but that van Hengel was so busy that he only finished the job during the Christmas vacation. His feedback is, however, disappointing. Since the manuscript with van Hengel's annotations itself is not in the Leiden library, it is difficult to find out why exactly van Hengel objected to Holwerda's work.[82] In any case, dogmatics seemingly did not play any role: Geel informs Holwerda that the Leiden professor does not think Holwerda's exegesis is too heretical.[83] Geel does not understand van Hengel's rejection; he had thought van Hengel would be the first to acknowledge the merits of such a thorough exegesis. Geel is also under the impression that van Hengel is trying to avoid a talk about Holwerda with him.[84]

Geel eventually decided to write van Hengel a letter, a copy of which he also included in his letter to Holwerda dated 26 February 1849. Geel's letter to van Hengel sheds some light on van Hengel's feedback. Apparently, van Hengel's main objection to Holwerda's essay is that he tries to interpret a passage van Hengel thinks is a *locus conclamatus*: a passage too corrupt to be explained properly (this is rather ironic, since Holwerda would become well-known especially for considering the transmitted NT text heavily corrupt). Geel writes that though it may be the case that the passage in 1 Peter is generally considered *conclamatus*, such a general opinion is not enough reason to refrain from trying to explain the passage anyway. Many ancient Greek passages that have long been held corrupt have eventually been explained convincingly. Moreover, Geel blames van Hengel for being prejudiced against Holwerda. He infers this bias from the time and effort it costed to have him read the manuscript, and from the tone of his critical comments. Geel finishes the letter as follows:

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80 Geel, letter to Holwerda, 25 Sept. 1848, ff. 1^{r}–1^{v}.

81 See Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* (1992), pp. 60–64.

82 According to Holwerda van Hengel thought Holwerda's essay was "awful" ("afschuwelijk"; letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 2^{r}; see also § 2.16.3), but this is probably not what van Hengel wrote or said himself.

83 Cf. n. 164 in this chapter.

84 Geel, letter to Holwerda, 7 Jan. 1849, ff. 1^{r}–1^{v}.

> […] I am not enough of a theologian to judge [whether Holwerda or van Hengel is right]; but I do know that I advise you against letting H [Holwerda] go; later, you yourself will regret it.[85]

Geel also encouraged Holwerda to enter into correspondence with van Hengel.[86] Holwerda listened to his 'patron', but it did not work out well. On 24 February 1850 Geel wrote to Holwerda:

> From vH. [van Hengel] I cannot get anything done: he does not want you to be his successor. That is quite obvious. You are probably in his bad books because of your παρρησία in your refutations of his notes on your written piece. If that is the case—and I am afraid it is indeed—then the man has become a child.[87]

Since Holwerda's letter to van Hengel is probably lost, the extent of Holwerda's frankness (παρρησία) towards the Leiden professor cannot be known. However, in his writings Holwerda is remarkably direct, refusing to put his criticism in a humble way only because the one being criticised has a certain status in the field (cf. § 2.8.4). Be this as it may, apparently Holwerda had become *persona non grata* to van Hengel. When Holwerda tried to meet van Hengel during the 1851 Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church (at the instigation of Geel), van Hengel kept his distance, saying his schedule did not allow him to make another appointment. During the same synod, according to Holwerda, van Hengel tried to discredit Holwerda (to no avail, apparently) with the politician Abraham Boxman (1796–1856), who was a parishioner of Holwerda's.[88]

In the meantime, van Hengel had still not been succeeded, though he had already reached the age of seventy at 12 November 1849, and had been accorded

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85 "[…] ik ben geen theologant genoeg om te regten; maar wél weet ik, dat ik u afraad H te laten lopen; dáármede zoude gij later zelf geen vrede hebben" (Geel, letter to Holwerda, 26 Feb. 1849, f. 1^{v}).

86 See Geel, letter to Holwerda, 7 Jan. 1849, f. 1^{v}.

87 "Met vH. kan ik niets uitrigten: Hij wenscht u niet tot zijn opvolger. Dat is vrij duidelijk. Gij hebt het waarschijnlijk bij hem verbruid met uwe παρρησία in uwe refutatien van zijne noten op uw [geschreven?] stuk. Is dit zoo—en ik vrees, dat het zoo is—dan is de man een kind geworden" (text in brackets difficult to read; Geel, letter to Holwerda, 24 Feb 1850, f. 1^{r}).

88 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 27 Nov. 1858, f. 1^{v} (on f. 1^{r} Holwerda also states that van Hengel had tried to set Geel against Holwerda through "false insinuations" ["valsche insinuatieen"]). For the year of the synod concerned, cf. Holwerda, letter to van Vloten, 22 Jan. 1854, f. 1^{r}., and van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), p. vi.

emeritus status by then. However, it was unclear whether, as a consequence of the constitution that had come into effect in the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1848, the theological faculties would be maintained at all. As long as this was uncertain, the appointment of a successor to van Hengel was postponed; after all, van Hengel was willing to continue teaching some courses.[89] This explains why as late as 1851 Holwerda was still trying to clear things up with van Hengel.

In December 1852 the dogmatician Johan Frederik van Oordt (1794–1852) suddenly died. This reduced the Leiden theological faculty to two professors (Kist and Scholten). Finally, the Dutch government took action. Two new professors were appointed, both Leiden students: the very young Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891), who was to teach, among other things, NT textual criticism, and Antonie Niermeyer (1814–1855), who was allotted New Testament exegesis and can therefore be regarded as van Hengel's successor in the proper sense.[90]

2.6.3 *Interpretation*

The largest part of the story of Geel's failed attempt to get Holwerda to Leiden is not difficult to interpret: Holwerda threw away his chances by engaging in combat with van Hengel, failing to treat him with the proper respect (cf. § 2.13.5). This does not explain, however, van Hengel's initial rejection of Holwerda's exegetical study. Anyone who reads Holwerda's exegetical essay (he finally published it largely unrevised in 1862),[91] which attests to his great knowledge of NT Greek and his keen interpretation,[92] can only wonder: why on earth did van Hengel not respond enthusiastically? I presume van Hengel ignored Holwerda simply because he was not a pupil of his.

The main source of knowledge about van Hengel is the short biography written by the Leiden NT professor Jacobus Johannes Prins in 1871, the year of van Hengel's death.[93] The image that arises from this biography is that of a scholar who was not brilliant, but yet succeeded, by unremitting study and an impressive list of publications, to become the leading scholar in the field of NT exegesis in the Netherlands. Van Hengel was the Dutch counterpart of Ger-

89 See de Jong, "Niermeyer" (2006), p. 207.

90 Scholten continued to teach, among other things, NT higher criticism. See de Jong, "Niermeyer" (2006), p. 207.

91 Holwerda, "1 Petr. III:18–IV:6" (1862). Concerning the conformity to the 1848 manuscript, see pp. 448–449.

92 Cf. Abraham Hermanus Blom (a student of van Hengel), "1 Petr. III:18–IV:6" (1874), p. 591, who states that Holwerda's is the most significant exegesis of the passage to have appeared in the last forty years.

93 Prins, "Van Hengel" (1871).

man exegetes such as de Wette, Lücke, Fritzsche (Carl Friedrich August) and Meyer, who tried to fulfil their philological duties as objectively and precisely as possible, building on the groundbreaking NT Greek grammar of Johann Georg Benedikt Winer (see further § 2.8.2). Though van Hengel was criticised for being overprecise, his thorough and solid exegesis inspired many students. At the end of his professorate, one could even speak of the 'van Hengel school' in the Netherlands, which included such names as Wernink, Niermeyer, Blom, Stricker, van Griethuysen and Kuenen.[94]

When Geel came up with Holwerda's exegetical essay in the autumn of 1848, van Hengel must have realised that this was not just asking an authority for his opinion; it was Geel nominating a successor—Geel may even have been explicit about it. And that was not what van Hengel had in mind. Though Holwerda's final years as a student and van Hengel's first years as a professor overlapped, Holwerda was not a student of his, never having attended any lecture of van Hengel. In the two decades since, there had been no contact between the two of them. Van Hengel probably first heard about Holwerda again only in 1847, when Holwerda published his Josephus criticism.

Van Hengel knew that a positive response to the essay would increase the chance that not one of his pupils, but Holwerda, of whom the literary faculty thought much, would succeed him. At first he tried to 'forget' about the essay, but Geel did not let that happen. Then he saw only one way to get himself out of the difficult situation: he declared the entire essay to be futile, because the passage was too corrupt to be interpreted.[95]

Van Hengel's rejection undoubtedly influenced Holwerda's career. Or, to put it otherwise, had van Hengel been as enthusiastic about Holwerda's exegetical essay as Geel was, Holwerda would have had a much better chance of becoming van Hengel's successor. Of course there were other opportunities as well, for example when Niermeyer died in 1855. Holwerda's correspondence, however, tells the sad story of chairs at different universities that were all lost to him.[96] Though talented and ambitious, Holwerda would never become part of

94 See Prins, "Van Hengel" (1871), p. 223.

95 This interpretation is supported by the strange 'teacher discussion' related in § 2.11, and even more by Otterspeer's reference to two letters sent by the theological faculty to the governors of the University on van Hengel's superannuation. In these letters they ask the governors to appoint one of van Hengel's students as his successor (Otterspeer, *Wiekslag* [1992], p. 62).

96 See Geel, letter to Holwerda, undated [1851], about a vacancy in Amsterdam; Geel, letter to Holwerda, 11 Apr. 1855, about the succession of Niermeyer; Geel's letters to Holwerda, 18 Oct. 1855 and 7 Dec. 1855, and Cobet's letter to Holwerda-Bertling, 18 Sept. 1855, about

the scholarly community. This was the second disappointment he had to come to terms with, after having to give up his Josephus plans.

Fortunately, Holwerda held his head up, and would become one of the most prolific Dutch NT scholars in the 1850s. In his publications he revealed himself as a scholarly rebel, opposing the scholarly establishment as someone who had nothing to lose since he did not belong to the club anyway. From this perspective, one is tempted to suggest that Holwerda's 'exclusion experience' may also have had a positive influence on his scholarship. His first NT publication, in any case, is very directly linked to the sordid affair related above; the next two sections show how.

2.7 Van Hengel's *Proeve* (1852)

Though van Hengel can be seen as Holwerda's ultimate antagonist, he would, paradoxically, give a powerful stimulus to Holwerda's NT scholarship. In November 1851, the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church asked van Hengel to draw up guidelines for a new translation of the New Testament. One year before, the synod had commissioned the preparation of a fresh translation of both the Old and the New Testament. Van Hengel had argued for some years for such a translation, which was to provide the churches with a translation based on the state of the art in grammar and exegesis.[97] In the summer of 1852 van Hengel published his *Proeve van grondslagen voor eene nieuwe Nederduitsche vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament naar den leidraad der vertaling van den Statenbijbel en volgens den gewonen Griekschen tekst* ("Proposal of Foundations for a New Dutch Translation of the New Testament Guided by the Translation of the States Bible and According to the Common Greek Text"). In this book van Hengel provides several translation rules and illustrates their application by means of many examples.

One of the rules, already evident from the title, is remarkable: the revision should be according to the "gewonen Griekschen tekst", the 'common Greek text', which is best represented, according to van Hengel, by the 1624 Elzevier edition. Van Hengel is aware of the fact that in the past two centuries many old readings have been found that diverge from this text, but he thinks the time is not ripe yet for building a new translation on the old manuscripts. He points

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a vacancy in Groningen; Holwerda-Bertling, letter to Geel, undated [1857] and Geel, letter to Holwerda-Bertling, 1 Feb. 1857, about the succession of Bake.

97 See van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), pp. v–vi; Aalders, "Een mislukt project" (2004), § 1.

out that there is not yet a critical edition with the same authority as Elzevier's, and that, besides, it will be difficult to follow both the States Translation *and* a text based on the oldest manuscripts.[98]

2.8 *Betrekking* (1853): A Programmed New Testament 'Debut'

2.8.1 *The Title*

Van Hengel's *Proeve* seems to have been exactly what Holwerda needed to make his NT 'debut'.[99] In March 1853[100] Noorduyn published a 132-page response to van Hengel by Holwerda, with the remarkable title *De betrekking van het verstand tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel, inzonderheid van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments* ("The Use of Reason Concerning the Explanation of the Bible, Especially the New Testament Writings").

This title is confusing. One would expect a book with such a title to be about hermeneutics, which this book definitely is not. Holwerda accounts for the title in the preface. After indicating that he had problems finding a good title for his book, he writes:

> Fortunately, I realised that everything I had said was meant to make clear that we do not yet understand the H. Scripture the way we should and could. This simple, many would say trifling idea I thought I could not express more briefly than I have done in the title of my little work.[101]

98 Van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), pp. 96–97. Van Hengel thinks translators are allowed to diverge from Elzevier's text in two cases: if the States Translation does so as well, or if there is a strong consensus regarding the inauthenticity of a certain reading in the Textus Receptus (pp. 100–102). Van Hengel's choice of the Textus Receptus as base text was criticised by Doedes ("Eene nieuwe Nederduitsche vertaling" [1852]) and Vissering ("Gebreken" [1852], "Vereischten" [1853]).

99 Of course Holwerda already had published in the field of NT studies with his 1830 dissertation (see § 2.2).

100 This dating is based on Geel's letter to Holwerda, 27 Mar. 1853, in which Geel responds to the book Holwerda has sent him (f. 1^{r}), in combination with Cobet's letter to Holwerda, 16 Mar. 1853, in which he expresses his displeasure with Holwerda having a book against van Hengel being printed at that very moment (f. 1^{r}).

101 "Gelukkig viel mij in, dat alles, wat ik gezegd had, dáártoe strekte, om te doen gevoelen, dat wij de H. Schrift nog niet zóó verstaan, als wij haar moeten en kunnen verstaan. Dit eenvoudige, menigeen zal zeggen onnozele, denkbeeld meende ik niet korter te kunnen uitdrukken, dan ik in den titel van mijn werkje heb gedaan" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. vii).

Holwerda does acknowledge that his title seems to say more than this, but comments ironically:

> The ideas my title may evoke, the considerations it may occasion, are no doubt highly important, and they may provide anyone who does not like my remarks a profitable occupation, and also some compensation.[102]

Here Holwerda already subtly indicates that he does not have a great liking for hermeneutics. In the introduction of the book, he expressses his low opinion of hermeneutics more openly:

> If he [the New Testament exegete] has got both the time and the liking for it, he might, for our part, put together his rules into a whole; add some *philosophy*; and thus, as it is sometimes said today, try to raise hermeneutics to the level of science. However, it might happen that one calls out to him: 'Please make us finally *understand* the writers you treat.'[103]

Those who read these words in 1853 immediately knew that Holwerda has a specific scholar in mind here: no other than van Hengel himself. Some time in the beginning of 1853, van Hengel, who, as mentioned, really was a hard worker, had already published another book, this one about NT hermeneutics. The title of this book is *De betrekking van het gevoel tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel, inzonderheid van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments* ("The Use of Feeling Concerning the Explanation of the Bible, Especially the New Testament Writings"). Here we find the explanation for Holwerda's surprising title. Holwerda simply copied van Hengel's entire title, only substituting 'verstand' (reason) for 'gevoel' (feeling). The message of this title is: 'Van Hengel thinks we need our feeling to understand the New Testament, but I suggest we use our reason.'

Since van Hengel in fact tried to be as rational as possible in his exegesis, and his *Betrekking* in fact opposes those who too easily make an appeal to

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102 "De denkbeelden, welke mijn titel doet oprijzen; de overdenkingen, waartoe hij aanleiding geeft; zijn ongetwijfeld hoogstbelangrijk; en kunnen ieder, wien mijne opmerkingen niet behagen, eene nuttige bezigheid, en ook zekere vergoeding geven" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853] p. vii).

103 "Heeft hij er tijd en lust toe, laat hij, wat ons aangaat, zijne regels tot één geheel te zamen voegen; er nog wat *Philosophie* bijdoen; en op die wijze, gelijk men tegenwoordig wel eens spreekt, de *uitlegkunde* tot eene wetenschap zoeken te verheffen. Doch het zoude wel eens kunnen gebeuren, dat men hem toeriep: 'Maak toch dat wij de Schrijvers, die gij behandelt, eindelijk eens *begrijpen*'" (original italics; Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 4).

intuition in defence of a certain interpretation,[104] Holwerda's title seems to be nothing but Holwerda having a dig at van Hengel. In actuality, Holwerda does two things: on the one hand, he indeed makes van Hengel look a fool, but on the other hand, he really wants to make a point by stressing the importance of reason over against feeling. This becomes clear only in the closing section of the book. Here he cites a "famous theologian,"[105] of whom he recently read the following words:

> Cold reason, which has no sense or feeling for the eternal main contents of Scripture, actually is the least qualified interpreter of Scripture.[106]

Whether or not these words were written by the most famous Dutch theologian of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Petrus Hofstede de Groot (1802–1886), they certainly are an expression of the so-called 'Groningen School' led by Hofstede de Groot. This school, which dominated Dutch theology in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, turned against what they regarded as the cold Enlightenment intellectualism in theology. Following on from the theological innovation of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), they stressed the importance of religious feeling, considering doctrines to be of lesser importance.[107] Regarding the Bible, they believed a strictly philological approach to the text was at the expense of a truly religious understanding of it (cf. e.g. the first half of § 2.8.5).

Holwerda agrees that one should develop both reason and feeling, but he also points out that reason itself simply cannot have "feeling for the eternal main contents of Scripture." Its task is to lay bare these contents as accurately as possible; and the more accurate our knowledge of these contents, the more influence they will exert on the whole of our being.[108]

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104 See e.g. van Hengel, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 2–3. To this may be added that, in a later publication, Holwerda himself defends the rights of 'feeling' in interpretation. According to Holwerda, one should take seriously one's interpretative 'feeling'; however, one always has to examine critically whether such an intuition is based on research experience or prejudices. See Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 104–105.

105 "beroemde theologant" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 129).

106 "Het koele verstand, dat voor den eeuwigen hoofdinhoud der Schrift geen zin en geen gevoel heeft, is juist de minst bevoegde Schriftuitlegger" (in Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], pp. 129–130).

107 See e.g. Harinck and Winkeler, "De negentiende eeuw" (2006), pp. 638–640.

108 See Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 129–131.

2.8.2 *Criticism of New Testament Scholarship*

Although the title refers to van Hengel's *Betrekking*, the book in fact is, as mentioned, a response to van Hengel's *Proeve*. That Holwerda's polemic will be against the proposed Bible revision instead of van Hengel's hermeneutics is already revealed in the first words of the introduction: "As is well known, some years ago people have planned to revise and improve the existing Bible translation."[109] Holwerda makes it clear from the outset that he thinks this is a bad idea. The bare fact that more than two hundred years of NT scholarship have passed since the States Translation was published, is not an argument in itself, he contends:

> In two hundred years a science certainly *can* make quite some progress; but from this it does not automatically follow that it *actually* made progress. One should, in order to make sure about that, not ask *how long* one has laboured, but *what* has been accomplished. It is our conviction that the present state of Bible interpretation, especially that of the New Testament, is not particularly satisfactory. Therefore we cannot have high hopes for the new or improved translation. We even fear it will be, in many respects, worse than the present one.[110]

Holwerda goes on to point out what is wrong with the NT scholarship of his days. Regarding commentaries he writes:

> As long as we have to plough through entire commentaries coming away none the wiser; as long as you give us explanations much darker than the passages you treat; as long as you make plain and easy passages incomprehensible by strange explanations, and, on the other hand, try to make us believe that passages which are, for whatever reason, incomprehensible can be properly explained.[111]

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109 "Het is bekend, dat men sedert eenige jaren het plan gevormd heeft, om de bestaande vertaling des Bijbels te herzien en te verbeteren" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 1).

110 "In twee honderd jaren *kan* eene wetenschap zeker vrij wat vooruitgaan; doch daaruit volgt nog niet, dat zij in dien tijd *werkelijk* vooruitgegaan is. Men moet, om daarvan de noodige zekerheid te verkrijgen, niet vragen *hoe lang* men gearbeid, maar *wat* men tot stand gebragt heeft. Naar onze overtuiging is de tegenwoordige toestand van de uitlegging des Bijbels, vooral van het N.T., weinig bevredigend. Wij kunnen daarom ook van de nieuwe of verbeterde vertaling geene groote verwachtingen koesteren. Het staat zelfs te vreezen, dat zij in menig opzigt minder goed, dan de tegenwoordige, zijn zal" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 2).

111 "Zoo lang wij geheele commentaries moeten doorworstelen, zonder veel wijzer te worden;

From the remainder of *Betrekking*, as well as from later publications by Holwerda, it becomes clear that, according to Holwerda, the above in any case applies to Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849). 30 out of the 34 times Holwerda refers to opinions of de Wette in his three exegetical monographs (*Betrekking* [1853], *Aanteekeningen* [1853] and *Bijdragen* [1855]), he disagrees with the German exegete, sometimes in a less than respectful manner.[112]

De Wette had become, at least in Germany and the Netherlands, an authoritative voice in NT exegesis through his *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1836–1848).[113] As mentioned, de Wette belonged, like for example Carl Friedrich August Fritzsche (1801–1846) and Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer (1800–1873), and in the Netherlands van Hengel, to a generation of 'precise' NT exegetes, who were inspired by the rigorous 'rational' philology of the Leipzig classicist Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann (1772–1848) and his school.[114] Hermann himself had given an important impulse to this 'new NT exegesis', not only by lamenting the arbitrary NT interpretation of the early nineteenth century,[115] but also, more importantly, by inspiring a student whose work was to become the cornerstone of nineteenth-century NT exegesis: Johann Georg Benedikt Winer (1789–1858).[116]

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zoo lang gij ons uitleggingen geeft, veel donkerder nog dan de plaatsen, die gij behandelt; zoo lang gij eenvoudige en gemakkelijke plaatsen door zonderlinge uitleggingen onverstaanbaar maakt, en ons aan den anderen kant zoekt op te dringen, dat plaatsen, die om welke redenen dan ook onverstaanbaar zijn, goed verklaard kunnen worden" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 5). The *apodosis* of this sentence is missing.

112 E.g. Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 12 n. 1: "surprisingly profound" ("verbazend diepzinnig"), p. 18: "scholarly pontification" ("wetenschappelijke orakeltaal"); *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 53: "rash assertion" ("onbesuisde bewering"), p. 92: "What an argument!" ("Welk een argument!"), p. 122: "How odd!" ("Hoe vreemd!"). For a negative assessment of de Wette's treatment of difficult passages, cf. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 48–50.

113 De Wette produced expanded editions of most parts of this commentary series.

114 See e.g. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), pp. 75–77. With its focus on philology proper Hermann's school resembles the Leiden Radical School. The Leiden classicists, however, were not influenced by Hermann but, as mentioned, by the *Schola Hemsterhusiana* and the English Grecians since Bentley.

115 See Hermann in Vigerus, *De idiotismus* (^{2}1813) p. 788. Cf. e.g. Winer, *Grammatik* (^{6}1855), p. iv n. 1; Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 8, van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 76.

116 E.g. Dobschütz, "Winer" (1898), p. 425; cf. Winer, *Grammatik* (^{6}1855), p. iii.

In 1822, Winer published the first edition of his *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*. With this grammar, Winer wanted to do justice to NT Greek as a system in its own right. Until then, studying NT Greek largely boiled down to studying classical Greek and paying attention to Hebraisms in the New Testament. Within this approach, many NT peculiarities remained uncomprehended, which paved the way for exegetical arbitrariness.[117] Winer's grammar was unanimously heralded as a major step forward in NT scholarship. Winer expanded his 161-page first edition further and further in successive editions, until the fifth edition, in 1844, took up no fewer than 733 pages.[118] During the entire nineteenth century Winer's *Grammatik*, found worthy of several English translations, was used as a starting point for NT exegesis.[119]

Yet Holwerda is critical of Winer in the introduction of *Betrekking*:

> His [Winer's] work cannot be considered to be in vain. At the same time, it is undeniable that his attempts, as well as those of his helpers and followers, have been only partially successful. The principles one should start from are perfectly clear; but their application to difficult passages not infrequently involves many troubles. … The main cause of all this is that the New Testament text is taken to be much purer than it actually is. Corrupt passages defy interpretation.[120]

"Corrupt passages defy interpretation." Here, on the ninth page of his introduction, Holwerda shows where he stands. According to Holwerda, the greatest weakness of Winer, de Wette, van Hengel and most other NT scholars is the assumption that among the transmitted readings there is always (or nearly always) one that can be considered original. Therefore they often present as special grammatical phenomena or ingeniously explain readings that merely

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117 See e.g. Winer, *Grammatik* (^{6}1855), pp. iii–iv, 4, 7.

118 In his sixth edition (1855) Winer succeeded in significantly reducing the number of pages (591).

119 See e.g. Robertson, *Grammar* (1914), pp. 3–5. After his death Winer's *Grammatik* was further expanded by Gottlieb Lünemann (*Grammatik* [^{7}1867]).

120 "Het nut, dat hij … gesticht heeft, mag niet worden miskend. Maar evenmin valt het te loochenen, dat zijne pogingen en die zijner helpers en navolgers slechts ten halve zijn gelukt. De beginselen, van welke men moet uitgaan, zijn duidelijk genoeg; maar hunne toepassing op moeijelijke plaatsen gaat niet zelden met vele zwarigheden gepaard. … De voorname oorzaak van dit alles is deze, dat men den tekst van het N.T. voor veel zuiverder aanziet, dan hij werkelijk is. Bedorven plaatsen zijn niet te verklaren" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], pp. 8–9).

result from copying mistakes.[121] For this reason, their work is unfortunately not much better than that of the old exegetes they react against.[122]

Holwerda judges Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874), pupil and subsequently colleague of Winer at Leipzig University, along the same lines. Of course Holwerda cannot deny that Tischendorf's epoch-making second NT edition (1849) is as indispensable for NT scholars as Winer's grammar. He appreciates the unparalleled richness and accuracy of its *apparatus criticus*. Tischendorf's critical text, however, suffers from the same flaw as Winer's grammar: it has no place for conjectural emendation (for Tischendorf's textual criticism, see further § 3.2.4).[123]

2.8.3 *The New Testament Passages in* Betrekking *and* Proeve

In the closing paragraph of the introduction, Holwerda finally mentions van Hengel, returning to where he began, the planned Bible revision:

> On this basis, then [i.e. the problems of New Testament scholarship observed by Holwerda], we think we may assert that the explanation of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, has not yet progressed as much as one may expect in fairness; and that therefore the time has not yet come to revise the so-called States Translation. Now we would like to continue by illustrating our criticism and complaints by treating some passages; to which end we will choose, not exclusively, yet mainly, those about which Prof. van Hengel has given his opinion in his well-known *Proeve van grondslagen* etc. By doing so we will achieve the particular goal we have set ourselves much more easily, and also allay the suspicion that we have selected, on purpose, a few difficult passages to bring forward our objections to scholarship.[124]

121 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 9–15.

122 E.g. Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 8–9.

123 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 7–8.

124 "Op deze gronden dan meenen wij te mogen beweren, dat de uitlegging des Bijbels, inzonderheid van het N.T., die vorderingen nog niet gemaakt heeft, welke men billijkerwijze verwachten mogt; en dat derhalve de tijd, om de zoogenaamde Statenoverzetting te herzien, nog niet gekomen is. Wij willen nu verder onze aanmerkingen en klagten door de behandeling van eenige plaatsen toelichten; en zullen daartoe, wel niet uitsluitend, maar toch voornamelijk zulke kiezen, waarover Prof. Van Hengel in zijne bekende *Proeve van grondslagen* enz. zijn gevoelen heeft gezegd. Hierdoor zullen wij het bijzondere doel, dat wij ons hebben voorgesteld, zoo veel te gemakkelijker bereiken, en tevens de verden-

TABLE 1 *Passages discussed in* Betrekking

	Also in *Proeve*	**Not in *Proeve***	***Total***
No conjecture	29	16	45
Semi-conjecture	5	8	13
Full conjecture	4	23	27
Total	38	47	85

Holwerda presents his approach to restrict himself mainly to examples provided by van Hengel as a merely practical choice. In the light of what can be known from his correspondence, it is safe to assert that there is more to this approach, just as there is more to the title then that it simply expresses perfectly what Holwerda tries to achieve. *Betrekking* kills two birds with one stone: Holwerda positions himself in the field and has his revenge on van Hengel.

The 16-page introduction is followed by 116 pages of philological discussion, in which Holwerda treats 85 passages scattered over the New Testament. Holwerda's promise to discuss mainly passages also treated by van Hengel appears to be grossly exaggerated. Fewer than half of the passages analysed in *Betrekking*, namely 38, also feature in *Proeve*. Taking a closer look at the 47 passages not dealt with by the Leiden emeritus professor, one notices that the larger part of these (31 cases) concern passages declared corrupt and mostly also emended by Holwerda. On the other hand, only 9 out of the 38 van Hengel passages are subjected to conjectural criticism. In Table 1 the above numbers are displayed, the conjectures being divided into 'semi-conjectures' (statement of corruption without emendation; see § 3.3) and 'full' conjectures.

In other words, Holwerda's claim that his selection of examples is relatively 'arbitrary', because mostly based on van Hengel's selection, is incorrect. This observation is significant for the present investigation, because two thirds of the non-*Proeve* passages are subjected to conjectural criticism. Observing, besides, that Holwerda considers only 9 out of the 38 *Proeve* passages to be

king van ons afweren, als of wij met opzet eenige moeijelijke plaatsen hadden uitgezocht, om onze bezwaren tegen de Wetenschap te doen uitkomen" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], pp. 15–16).

corrupt, one can conclude that most of Holwerda's *Betrekking* conjectures occurred to him before the summer of 1852 (the moment van Hengel published his guidelines for the Bible revision).

That Holwerda already made several NT conjectures before 1852 should not come as a surprise. His scholarly involvement with the New Testament started at least 22 years earlier, when he graduated in theology with a dissertation on Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus; one of the theses was a conjecture on the final verses of John's Gospel (see § 2.2). Besides, Holwerda himself describes that he continued studying the New Testament intensively after having become a minister in 1831, and also that he, in these early years of his ministry, got very disappointed with those NT scholars who were regarded as the highest authorities.[125] There is even evidence that in the late 1830s Holwerda was applying conjectural emendation to the New Testament. In 1856 he writes that he can prove on the basis of his notes that his conjecture on Luke 3:19 already occurred to him "seventeen years ago."[126]

2.8.4 Betrekking *as the Outcome of a Long Process*

The following picture emerges. In a time span of more than twenty years, Holwerda developed an aversion to the NT philology of his days. His biggest frustration was the acceptance of nonsense readings into the NT text, accompanied by far-fetched grammatical and exegetical interpretation. From his own background, the Leiden classical philology, he knew what to do with absurd readings: these ought to be emended. Whereas his first serious scholarly efforts were directed at the text of Josephus, Holwerda, meanwhile, also started to apply conjectural emendation to obstinate NT passages.

The longer his attempts to have a Josephus edition financed remained unsuccessful, the more publishing on the New Testament surfaced as another scholarly challenge. In a letter dated 26 August 1850, which shows that, by then, Holwerda was trying to get support from the old Gaisford for his Josephus plan, one sees Geel stimulating Holwerda to go public as a NT scholar:

125 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 70 n. 1.

126 "reeds voor 17 jaren" (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 74). To this may be added what Holwerda writes in 1855, namely that he has made plenty of conjectures he has not yet presented in public, being not yet convinced enough that these are good conjectures; see Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 534; cf. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 82.

> You know that I have wished, more than once, that you would show exegetixῶς [i.e. exegetically] what you are made of. You could easily scatter a handful of opinions with which you would not compromise yourself.[127]

Geel's 1851 letters to Holwerda reveal that Gaisford's response was negative,[128] and also that Holwerda's scholarly attention was directed at the New Testament more and more.[129] By June 1852 the Josephus plan was off once and for all,[130] and at the same time van Hengel's *Proeve* appeared, full of translation proposals Holwerda disagreed with.

Holwerda started writing his response: he selected 38 opinions of van Hengel, all of which, apart from one single case,[131] he rejected. He did so either by defending the States Translation, or by offering his own translation, or by preferring the reading of Codex Vaticanus (cf. § 3.5), or by making a conjecture.

His refutation of van Hengel's proposals is written in a confident—some would say arrogant—and ironical style one would not expect from a minister refuting an emeritus professor.[132] In the same style he strikes out against

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127 "Gij weet dat ik meer dan eens gewenscht heb, dat gij exegetixῶς toonde, wie gij zijt; gij kondt ligt een handvol opiniën uitstrooijen, die u niet compromitteren" (Geel, letter to Holwerda, 26 Aug. 1850, f. 1^{v}).

128 Geel, letter to Holwerda, 15 Jan. 1851, f. 1^{v}.

129 See Geel's letters to Holwerda dated 15 Jan. 1851, 28 Feb. 1851 and 15 May 1851.

130 Cf. Geel, letter to Holwerda, 17 June 1852. In 1853 Holwerda discussed some Josephus passages in the recently founded Leiden classical journal *Mnemosyne* ("Observationes criticae").

131 See Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 20, and van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), p. 29, about the translation of Matt 21:3.

132 The following example is rather representative of both the nature of van Hengel's remarks (or in any case of those that were selected by Holwerda) and the devastating criticism of Holwerda. Van Hengel proposes to translate the expression ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν in Luke 20:35 and Acts 4:2 as "the resurrection which is from [the] dead" ("de opstanding, die uit [de] dooden is"; brackets in original; van Hengel, *Proeve* [1852], p. 118), assuming that when in Greek the predicate comes after the substantive with repetition of the article, this predicate should always be translated as a relative clause. In this specific case, van Hengel takes the relative clause to be restrictive: "For the resurrection *par excellence*, which the Gospel promises, is distinguished from every other one" ("De opstanding bij uitnemendheid, die het Evangelie toezegt, wordt, namelijk, van elke andere onderscheiden"; van Hengel, *Proeve* [1852], p. 118). Holwerda comments: "How? From every other resurrection? Why did Prof. v. H. not say a single word about the other resurrections he refers to? Resurrections which are not from the dead? Impossible! … The rendering of the States translators: *the resurrection from the dead*, is flawless. Dutch idiom does not allow a literal

the state of the art in NT philology, at the same time grabbing his chance to share many textual opinions that have occurred to him in years of NT study, involving mainly conjectures. He does not refer to conjectures made by other scholars. This is illustrative of the scholarly path taken by Holwerda, who was not rooted in the tradition of NT conjectural criticism. He was rooted in Leiden classical philology, and applied what he learned from Bake *cum suis* to the texts he had to explain as a minister every Sunday.

2.8.5 *Criticism of* Betrekking

The first negative response to Holwerda is a short review of *Betrekking* in the theological journal *Waarheid in liefde* ("Truth in Love") in 1854. This journal was the medium of the Groningen School, which had been subtly criticised by Holwerda in the title and the closing section of *Betrekking* (see § 2.8.1). The anonymous reviewer acknowledges the philological quality of Holwerda's work:

> We … would like to declare that many suggestions concerning the criticism of the New Testament and specific passages are put forward here that should be taken to heart.[133]

However, as may be expected from Groningen, the absence of any comment on the religious value of the texts discussed in *Betrekking* renders this work useless with regard to "the highest and dearest interests of humanity."[134] These interests can only be served if

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rendering of the Greek words. Besides, it is not at all the case that such a predicate with the article, such as ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, has, in itself and always, emphasis." ("Hoe? Van elke andere opstanding? Waarom heeft Prof. v. H. niet met een enkel woord gezegd, welke andere opstandingen hij dan toch bedoelt? Opstandingen, die niet uit de dooden zijn? Onmogelijk! … De vertaling der Statenoverzetters: *de opstanding uit de dooden*, is onberispelijk. Het Hollandsche taaleigen laat niet toe de Grieksche woorden letterlijk weder te geven. Ook is het er verre van daan, dat zulk eene bepaling met het lidwoord, als ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν, op zich zelve en overal zekeren nadruk zoude hebben." Original italics; Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 55.) Then follows a sensible discussion of this type of predicate and the limits of rendering such subtleties as the position of the predicate in a translation (pp. 55–56).

133 "Wij willen … gaarne betuigen, dat hier meenige wenk omtrent de critiek van het Nieuwe Testament en van bijzondere plaatsen is medegedeeld, die ter harte dient genomen te worden" (review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* in *WL* [1854], p. 552).

134 "de hoogste en dierbaarste belangen der menschheid" (review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* in *WL* [1854], p. 554).

> one tries to penetrate the mind of the holy speakers and writers, especially the mind of Jesus and the apostles, and one considers this the main matter and the main purpose of a right Bible understanding.[135]

In *Bijdragen* (1855, see § 2.11) Holwerda responds: "It is … impossible to know the *matters* without understanding the *words*."[136] Besides that, Holwerda agrees with the reviewer that philology serves a higher goal, but for Holwerda this goal is not to penetrate the spirit of Jesus and the apostles. If his "Groningen colleagues"[137] want to know what higher purpose philology serves, they should read Bake's 1847 lecture about philology as "an active and necessary ingredient of the present civilisation" (see § 2.4.3). In the Leiden Radical School philology is not meaningful in the first place because it provides access to the matter of texts; it is meaningful because the philologist develops his mind and his taste, and therefore can have a positive influence in society. Holwerda concludes his defence by ridiculing the 'Christian-philosophical' view and evaluation of antiquity that was propagated in Groningen.[138]

In January 1855 van Hengel responded to criticism of the plan for a new Bible translation,[139] also reacting to Holwerda.[140] His reponse contains five elements. First, he acknowledges that some of Holwerda's refutations of his translation proposals are convincing (without mentioning, however, specific passages). Second, Holwerda's argument that too many NT passages are not understood well enough to make a new translation is refuted by stating that often one does not need to be able to understand a phrase in order to translate it. Third, he thinks Holwerda's idea that the NT text is in a very bad state is, on the one hand, caused by unfairly judging NT Greek according to the standard of common Hellenistic Greek; on the other hand, it is incompatible with the richness of the sources for the NT text. Fourth, even if the NT text is as corrupt as Hol-

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135 "men door de woorden tot den geest der heilige sprekers en schrijvers, tot den geest van Jezus en de Apostelen vooral, zoeke door te dringen, en dit als de hoofdzaak en het hoofddoel van het regte verstand des Bijbels beschouwe" (review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* in *WL* (1854), p. 554).

136 "het is … onmogelijk de *zaken* te kennen, zonder de *woorden* te verstaan" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 124).

137 "Groninger ambtsbroeders" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 124).

138 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 124–125. Cf. e.g. Sannes, "Noodzakelijkheid" (1850), pp. 107–156.

139 Cf. n. 98 in this chapter.

140 Van Hengel, "Het wenschelijke (2)" (1855), pp. 17–21.

werda thinks it is, then still this would not be reason enough not to make a new translation, especially since many of the corruptions assumed by Holwerda do not affect the meaning of a passage. Fifth, Holwerda has taken too sharp a tone against "a Winer, a de Wette and other men of renown, and against me, his gray teacher."[141] Van Hengel concludes his four-page response with the belittling remark that Holwerda's objections do not deserve too much attention; after all, they have struck a sympathetic note with very few people, and during the translation discussion at the synod meeting in the spring of 1854 they were not even considered.[142]

Of course, Holwerda does not let van Hengel's response pass either. In *Bijdragen* he defends the few specific text-critical and exegetical proposals in *Betrekking* van Hengel had criticised. He also criticises van Hengel for making several claims without substantiating them through examples. The translation proposals van Hengel has added have only confirmed Holwerda in his opinion about the new translation: it will not make people understand the New Testament better than they do when reading the States Translation or van der Palm's 1830 translation.

In a page-long footnote Holwerda goes into van Hengel's complaint about his sharp tone against "men of renown, and against me, his gray teacher." Holwerda comments that these 'men of renown' heavily disappointed him when he turned to them as a young minister who had to preach the New Testament. Especially the Bible classes he had to give in Assen (1835–1837) were a sheer torment to him. Therefore, "should they make a complaint to me, or should I make a complaint to them?"

As to his sharp tone against van Hengel, Holwerda agrees that one should be thankful towards one's teachers. However, he does not understand why van Hengel calls himself his teacher. Though Holwerda's final years as a student and van Hengel's first years as a professor overlapped, Holwerda never attended any lecture of van Hengel. They have spoken each other about the New Testament only one time, in the autumn of 1829, on which occasion van Hengel assured Holwerda that NT scholarship had made great progress in recent years.[143]

Holwerda did not really secure his position in the Dutch theological field with *Betrekking*. He already had a bad relationship with van Hengel, but now the leading NT scholar had reprimanded him in public. Also, for the Groningen

141 Van Hengel, "Het wenschelijke (2)" (1855), p. 20.

142 Van Hengel, "Het wenschelijke (2)" (1855), pp. 20–21.

143 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 70 n. 1.

scholars he had become *persona non grata*. That is the price Holwerda paid for his oppositional style of writing. There was no need to make a fool of the Groningen School, and Holwerda could have presented his conjectures without reacting against van Hengel. But he did not. The most obvious explanation for Holwerda's oppositional style of writing is his frustration because of the failed attempts to edit Josephus, and, more importantly, to occupy an academic chair (cf. what he confides to Vissering, § 2.9). But since not every scholar who encounters setbacks such as Holwerda's ends up writing like Holwerda, it must have been also a matter of personality.

2.9 Praise and Friendship (from 1853 Onwards)

There were also altogether positive public responses to Holwerda's *Betrekking*. Johannes van Vloten (1818–1883)—theologian, historian, man of letters, linguist, prolific writer, fearsome polemicist, radical freethinker largely responsible for the Spinoza revival in the nineteenth-century[144]—had already spoken highly of Holwerda before. It was a habit of van Vloten publicly to express his opinion about who should occupy vacant academic chairs.[145] In an anonymous letter to the *Algemeen Handelsblad* (a national daily newspaper) of 21 January 1850, attributed to van Vloten by Geel in a letter to Holwerda,[146] van Vloten had recommended Holwerda as a suitable successor to van Hengel.[147]

Immediately after Holwerda published his *Betrekking*, van Vloten wrote a laudatory review in the *Algemeene konst- en letterbode*, a leading cultural weekly.[148] According to van Vloten, Holwerda's *Betrekking* contains "many fortunate guesses and apt refutations."[149] He laments the fact that Holwerda does not have an academic position, and hopes *Betrekking* "will somewhat compensate what his own teaching otherwise could have brought about."[150]

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144 See e.g. Mees-Verwey, *Van Vloten* (1928).

145 See Mees-Verwey, *Van Vloten* (1928), p. 74.

146 See Geel, letter to Holwerda, 24 Feb. 1850, f. 1r.

147 Van Vloten, "Benoeming" (1850). According to Geel, van Vloten wrote his letter to the editors after a long conversation about van Hengel's succession with Geel, but Geel did not know he would do so; see Geel, letter to Holwerda, 24 Feb. 1850, f. 1r.

148 About important Dutch cultural journals in the mid-nineteenth century, see Aerts, *Letterheren* (2007), pp. 56–58.

149 "menige gelukkige gissing en juiste terechtwijzing" (van Vloten, review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 302).

150 "eenigzins vergoeden, wat zijn eigen onderwijs anders hadde kunnen te weegbrengen; …" (van Vloten, review of Holwerda *Betrekking* [1853], p. 303).

On 15 May, two days after the appearance of the issue with the review,[151] Holwerda sent a thankful letter to van Vloten:

> The approval of someone who is informed is of course very pleasant in itself. It is, however, even more pleasant to find sympathy somewhere. I would be very pleased if I could speak freely to someone about my theological studies.[152]

At the end of November of the same year, after having reviewed Holwerda's *Aanteekeningen* just as positively,[153] van Vloten visited Holwerda for a few days.[154] The two men then became friends for life, as witnessed by the 33 letters from Holwerda to van Vloten, running to 1878, that are kept in the Leiden University Library.[155] It is probably due to van Vloten that Holwerda got interested in the work of Spinoza (see § 2.13.5).[156]

Another positive response also led to a life-long friendship. The Mennonite minister Gerbrand Vissering (1813–1869) was making his own NT translation, based on Tischendorf's second edition.[157] He had just submitted an article for the 1853 volume of *Jaarboeken voor wetenschappelijke theologie* when he got to know *Betrekking*. In an added footnote he writes that he has read it "with much satisfaction," while he goes into Holwerda's criticism of Tischendorf.[158] When he had his translation printed at the end of 1854, he sent a copy to Holwerda, accompanied by a letter. After referring to the moment both men had been introduced to each other some years before, Vissering writes:

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151 See Holwerda, letter to van Vloten, 15 May 1853, f. 1^{r}: "eergisteren" ("the day before yesterday").

152 "De goedkeuring van iemand, die oordeelen kan, is natuurlijk op zich zelve zeer aangenaam. Nog aangenamer echter is het ergens sympathie te vinden. Hoe gelukkig zoude ik niet zijn, wanneer ik over mijne theologische studieen eens vrij uit met iemand spreken kon" (Holwerda, letter to van Vloten, 15 May 1853, f. 1^{r}).

153 Van Vloten, review of Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853).

154 Cf. Holwerda's letters to van Vloten dated 17 Nov. 1853 and 29 Nov. 1853 respectively.

155 Holwerda, letters to van Vloten, 1853–1878. Surprisingly, van Vloten's letters to Holwerda are not in the Leiden library and seem to be lost.

156 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 8 July 1856, f. 1^{v}.

157 About Vissering, see Zilverberg, "Vissering" (1998).

158 Vissering, "Vereischten" (1853), p. 449 n. 2.

> Since then I have got to know you better through both exegetical works [namely *Betrekking* and *Aanteekeningen*] published by you. In those I have found, honestly, so much almost enviable proof of thorough knowledge of the Greek language that I often thought of you while working on my New Testament translation, …[159]

And a few lines below:

> … now that my New Testament translation will see the light of day shortly, I seize the opportunity to offer you a copy of it, and to request, in addition, an expression of your opinion about it, if only in very broad terms.[160]

This letter would turn out to be the beginning of an intensive scholarly and friendly correspondence.[161] Though Holwerda stuck to his allegation that the time was not ripe for making a new translation,[162] he was willing to help Vissering revise his translation.[163] Conversely, in Vissering Holwerda found a NT philologist who fully acknowledged his authority. This meant a lot to him. On 26 November 1855, after a year of extensive correspondence, Holwerda wrote to Vissering:

> The attention you show to me is much greater than I have ever expected of anyone. Had others with whom I disagree much more [sic; should be

159 "Sedert die tijd heb ik nadere kennis met u gemaakt door de beide uitlegkundige werkjes, door u in 't licht gegeven. Ik heb daarin—'t zij zonder vleijerij gezegd—zoo vele bijna benijdenswaardige bewijzen van grondige kennis der Grieksche taal gezien, dat ik bij mijnen arbeid der vertaling des N. T. meermalen aan u dacht, …" (Vissering, letter to Holwerda, 1 Dec. 1854, f. 1^{r}).

160 "nu mijne vertaling des N. T. eerstdaags het licht ziet, neem ik de vrijheid u een exemplaar daarvan aan te bieden, en het verzoek er bij te voegen, dat gij mij uw oordeel daarover, al is het ook maar in zeer algemeene omtrekken, mede deelt" (Vissering, letter to Holwerda, 1 Dec. 1854, f. 1^{r}).

161 The Leiden library has eleven letters from Holwerda to Vissering (1854–1861) and forty letters from Vissering to Holwerda (1854–1868).

162 See e.g. Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 11 Dec. 1854, f. 1^{r}.

163 The second edition, in which Vissering no longer follows Tischendorf but has established a critical text himself (undoubtedly under the influence of Holwerda), appeared in 1859, and led to a honorary doctorate from Groningen University (Zilverberg, "Vissering" [1998], p. 439. column b). In the foreword to the second edition Vissering thanks his friend Holwerda for his generous help (Vissering, *Al de boeken* [^{2}1859], p. xviii).

> 'much less'] than with you,[164] shown to me only a tenth of the kindness I meet from you, I would never have become so sharp.[165]

In the footnotes of his 1859 revised translation, Vissering casts doubt on the transmitted reading in many passages emended by Holwerda, whereas in some cases he simply translates Holwerda's conjecture.[166]

2.10 *Aanteekeningen* (1853) and "Opmerkingen" (1854)

After *Betrekking*, two very productive years followed. In 1853, Holwerda put in print another NT publication, already referred to in the previous section, entitled *Uitlegkundige aanteekeningen op eenige plaatsen uit het Nieuwe Testament* ("Exegetical Notes on Some Passages in the New Testament"). *Aanteekeningen* differs from *Betrekking* in several respects: it is less than half as long (56 pages); there is no introduction or conclusion; and Holwerda discusses the passages more extensively than he does in *Betrekking*. Holwerda treats eight passages, five of which he tries to restore by means of conjectural emendation.[167]

The passage that receives most attention is John 19:29. Interestingly, here Holwerda rejects Joachim Camerarius' famous conjecture ὑσσῷ προπεριθέντες for ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες (mostly defended in the form proposed by Beza, ὑσσῷ περιθέντες, which form is also dismissed by Holwerda), although he does acknowledge that the word ὑσσώπῳ is corrupt.[168] Holwerda finishes *Aanteekeningen* by making some conjectures on profane writers, Greek (Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch) as well as Latin (Rutilius Lupus). He does so to show "how I

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164 Vissering was theologically much more traditional than Holwerda (see for example Vissering, *Al de Boeken* [^{1}1854], p. xiv); van Hengel, by contrast, had become increasingly liberal during his career (see de Jonge, "van Hengel" [1998], p. 192).

165 "Gij betoont mij eene belangstelling veel grooter, dan ik ooit van iemand heb verlangd. Wanneer anderen, van wie ik veel meer, dan van u, in zienswijze verschil, mij slechts een tiende gedeelte van de welwillendheid hadden betoond, die ik van u ondervind, ik zoude nooit zoo scherp zijn geworden" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 1^{r}).

166 This is the case at John 8:25, Acts 18:5, 1Thess 3:3 and 1John 5:14–15. Vissering does not mention Holwerda in these footnotes, but acknowledges that he is indebted to Holwerda in the foreword (see p. 56 n. 163).

167 Holwerda emends Mark 15:36, Luke 13:28, Luke 23:19, John 19:29 [cj10831] and Acts 1:12; the other passages are Matt 3:14–15, Matt 27:47–49 and 1Cor 7:5. In a footnote on p. 47 1Cor 16:22 and Jas 5:12 are emended as well.

168 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 40–44; see [cj10089] and [cj10693].

have tried to practise and prepare myself, before I dared to take up the criticism of the New Testament."[169]

Apparently, Holwerda continued studying the passages treated in *Aanteekeningen* after its publication. In 1854 21 additional pages devoted to some of these appeared in the *Jaarboek voor wetenschappelijke theologie*, under the title "Nog eenige opmerkingen betreffende Matth. iii:5. Matth. XXVII:28 en Marc. XV:36. Luc. XIII:28. Luc. XXIII:19. Joann. XIX:29" ("Some More Observations Concerning Matt 3:5, Matt 27:28 and Mark 15:36, Luke 13:28, Luke 23:19, John 19:29").[170]

2.11 *Bijdragen* (1855)

In 1855 yet another work by Holwerda came out (already mentioned before): *Bijdragen tot de uitlegging van het Nieuwe Testament* ("Contributions to the Interpretation of the New Testament"). This book equals *Betrekking* as regards size (131 pages) and, as in this debut, many passages are declared corrupt (30), more than half of which are also emended (16). Moreover, he defends a dozen conjectures he had made earlier, while he remarks on two of them that he only made these to show that the passages are too corrupt to restore.[171] While Holwerda reinforces some theoretical points he already made in *Betrekking*, the main addition to the theoretical framework provided in *Betrekking* is an extensive argumentation for the superiority of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (see § 3.5). Holwerda also goes against Tischendorf's use of the Apocryphal Gospels for NT textual criticism.[172]

In *Bijdragen* Holwerda rejects a few conjectures made by others, including, notably, the omission of Gal 4:25^{a}, one of the most popular NT conjectures.[173] He does so in order to show that he has learned from the failures of former conjectural critics, and that these failures have made him cautious in his own

169 "op wat wijze ik getracht heb mij te oefenen en voor te bereiden, éér ik het gewaagd heb de critiek van het N. T. ter hand te nemen" (Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* [1853], p. 50).

170 In passing Holwerda makes two fresh conjectures as well in "Opmerkingen" (on Matt 27:16 and John 19:17).

171 Namely the conjectures on Mark 10:10 and on John 3:22–26; see Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 68 and 101.

172 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 72–79.

173 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 80; this conjecture was first made, in two different forms, by Richard Bentley in his "Epistola ad Millium" (1691), pp. 96–98 (see [cj11784] and [cj10709]); afterwards it was also casted in other forms by other scholars (see [cj10708] and [cj14734]); recently it has been defended by Stephen Carlson, "Galatians 4,25" (2014).

criticism. Therefore he cannot be accused of being "wild and rash," as he thinks is insinuated in van Hengel's response to *Betrekking*.[174]

Similarly, when discussing the curious presence of the article before διδάσκαλος in John 3:10 (Nicodemus being called *the* teacher of Israel by Jesus), Holwerda asks:

> He who thinks now I will get out the critical billhook and simply declare that tricky article unauthentic deludes himself. I solemnly proclaim that I have a profound aversion to that hacking.[175]

Typically, Holwerda goes on to take the offensive:

> If one wants to know what hacking is, one should ask those scholars who want to take out Matt 12:40, John 5:28–29 and other passages as unauthentic insertions.[176]

Though Holwerda speaks about "scholars", in the plural, the examples he gives refer to one specific scholar, namely the Leiden professor Johannes Henricus Scholten (1811–1885). Scholten is well-known as the greatest Dutch dogmatician of the nineteenth century, but he also taught NT higher criticism and wrote several works in that field.[177] In 1846 Scholten published an extensive defence of a conjecture that had already been supported by many German scholars from the late eighteenth century onwards, namely to consider Matt 12:40 ("For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly …") a later inserted gloss.[178] In 1848 and 1850 he also wrote two large articles in which he expunged

174 "wilde en onbesuisde" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 80). Cf. Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 534.

175 "Misschien meent iemand, dat ik nu het critische snoeimes voor den dag halen, en dat lastige artikel maar voor onecht zal verklaren.—Hij bedriegt zich. Plegtig betuig ik van dat weghakken een diepen afkeer te hebben" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 101). Holwerda thinks 'the teacher of Israel' should be interpreted as a honorary title, Nicodemus being a fictitious character (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], pp. 100–101).

176 "Wil men weten wat eigenlijk weghakken is, men vrage het aan die geleerden, welke Matth. XII:40, Joann. V:28,29 en andere plaatsen, als onechte invoegsels, willen uitmonsteren" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 101).

177 See e.g. Abraham Kuenen, "Scholten" (1886) pp. 20, 53–58.

178 Scholten, "Matth. XII:40" (1846). For several German defenders of the conjecture, see pp. 39–41 of this article. Scholten fails to mention the scholar that is regarded as *Urheber* in the *Amsterdam Database*, namely Carl Friedrich Bahrdt in 1773; see [cj12319].

six eschatological phrases from the Gospel of John, arguing that such phrases are incompatible with John's theology.[179]

The Holwerda quotation continues as follows:

> Reading these conjectures[180] I felt like the wolf in the fable. He once saw shepherds eating a sheep in their tent, and thought: what an uproar there would be if I were to do the same thing.[181]

In other words, Holwerda is indignant about two things. Firstly, he considers Scholten's proposals a form of 'hacking'. Holwerda is in general very critical of textual innovations involving theologically charged passages.[182] For example, in *Bijdragen* he subtly accuses the Groningen theologians of bending the New Testament to their will, in a passage that links up with Bake's quotation about philology (see § 2.4.3) perfectly:

> The purely philological treatment of the New Testament should never become the servant of a dogmatics which teaches the *inerrancy of the Apostles*; which discovered that *forgiveness of sins has not been brought about by the death of Christ, but has been revealed in the death of Christ*; in sum, which somehow tries to adapt and transform instead of frankly reject everything one cannot, being *liberal, enlightened* or *informed*, take as true.[183]

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179 Scholten, "Joh. V:25 in verband met vs. 28, 29" (1848); "De uitdrukking ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ" (1850).

180 Actually, Scholten considers the Johannine glosses the work of the final redactor (who also added chapter 21), not of copyists, and therefore he is, in my opinion, *stricto sensu* not involved in conjectural emendation; see Scholten, "Joh. V:25 in verband met vs. 28, 29" (1848), p. 453; "De uitdrukking ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ" (1850), p. 456. In his introduction to the NT writings Scholten wrote for his students he detects 34 more glosses in John (see Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* [2016]; glosses checked in Scholten, *Inleiding* [^{2}1856]). For the confusion concerning conjectural criticism and redactional criticism in the Dutch nineteenth century, see § 1.5.

181 "Bij het lezen van die conjecturen ging het mij als den wolf in de fabel. Hij zag eens herders in hunne tent een schaap opeten, en zeide: wat zou er een leven zijn, als ik dat eens deed" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 101).

182 It is not for nothing that Holwerda excludes dogmatically and historically important passages in his proof examples for the superiority of B and C, see § 3.5.2.

183 "De zuiver philologische behandeling van het N. T. wordt nooit de dienares eener dogmatiek, die de *feilloosheid der Apostelen* leert; die de ontdekking heeft gemaakt, dat *vergeving van zonden niet door den dood van Christus gewerkt, maar in den dood van Christus*

Also, in 1858 and 1859 Holwerda would accuse modern theology (in the Netherlands mainly represented by the Leiden theological faculty) of a similar theological approach to Rom 9:5 (see § 2.14). For the same reason Holwerda was suspicious about Scholten's omissions in John's Gospel.

In the second place, the Leiden professor seems to come away unscathed while hacking his way through the New Testament.[184] Holwerda suggests that once you belong to the academic clique, especially the Leiden theological clique, you can say whatever you want.

2.12 Discredited in *Godgeleerde bijdragen* (1855)

2.12.1 *Holwerda Popular among Conservatives*

From his farewell sermon and his letters it can be deduced that in the 1850s Holwerda was more remote from traditional Christian convictions than a modern theologian such as Scholten. However, in public he kept his ideas close to his chest. After all, a minister could lose his job if he appeared to be tarred with the same brush as someone like Strauss. Besides, in the eyes of Holwerda, that whole theological fight between modernists and conservatives that was raging in the fifties only worked out badly for NT philology, which should be a matter of science, not beliefs (cf. § 2.13.3). Therefore Holwerda even took pride in his concealed position. The quotation above continues as follows:

> I say this frankly, all the more since no one can suspect, let alone accuse me of any striving for popularity, nor of a yearning to please some party.[185]

However, Holwerda seems to have underestimated the field of force he had entered by going against the leading German NT scholars, the Groningen

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geopenbaard is; om kort te gaan, die alles, wat men als *liberaal*, *verlicht* of *opgeklaard*, niet voor waar meent te kunnen houden, in plaats van het ruiterlijk te verwerpen, op eene of andere wijze zoekt te plooijen en te vervormen" (original italics; Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], pp. 71–72). For the Groningen viewpoints referred to by Holwerda, see e.g. Rasker, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (⁷2004), pp. 50,52.

184 This is not true; see e.g. Harting's criticism in § 2.12.3.

185 "Ik zeg dit met te meer vrijmoedigheid, omdat niemand mij, noch van eenig streven naar populariteit, noch van de zucht om zekere partij te behagen, verdenken—laat staan beschuldigen kan" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 72).

school and the Leiden theologians. In accordance with the old proverb 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend', Holwerda became popular among conservatives.

For example, Isaäc da Costa (1798–1860), one of the key figures of the Dutch 'Réveil', and a passionate opponent of modern theology in general and the Groningen and Leiden theologians in particular,[186] sings Holwerda's praises in his pamphlet against the synod's Bible translation plan. Though Holwerda may be somewhat hypercritical in his conjectural emendation, "that genuinely scholarly philologist and theologian"[187] has bravely uncovered the weak spots of today's NT scholarship. And though he is right that the time is not ripe for a revision of the States Translation, if this revision takes place nonetheless, Holwerda should definitely participate in this undertaking.[188]

There is also a laudatory review of *Bijdragen* in the old non-specialist journal *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld* ("Reading Room of the World of Learning"), which was moderately orthodox in the 1850s.[189] The reviewer (a certain 'D.') states that all Holwerda's writings show

> the great learning of the man who with unbiased judgment and no less shrewdness points out the deficiencies and failings of recent scholarship.[190]

Holwerda's conjectures show his critical tact (his proposal for 1 Cor 3:4 is accepted), though he makes too many of them given the rich sources available for the NT text.[191] Again, Holwerda is praised for his brave opposition to the spirit of the age, in which biblical scholars contrive to come up with something new in each passage.

However pleasant all these compliments must have been for Holwerda, they would at least partially lead to a discrediting review of *Bijdragen* from the other camp.

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186 See e.g. Rasker, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (⁷2014), pp. 78–85.

187 "die echt-wetenschaplijke Philoloog en Godgeleerde" (Da Costa, *Bedenkingen* [1855], p. 35).

188 Da Costa, *Bedenkingen* (1855), pp. 35–37.

189 See Broeyer, "Pluriformiteit" (1999), pp. 37–41.

190 "de groote geleerdheid van den man, die met onbevangen oordeel en niet mindere scherpzinnigheid de leemten en gebreken der nieuwere wetenschap aantoont" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *BGW* [1855], p. 132).

191 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *BGW* (1855), pp. 134–135.

2.12.2 *The Review in* Godgeleerde bijdragen

In the mid-nineteenth century, *Godgeleerde bijdragen* ("Theological Contributions") was one of the leading theological journals in the Netherlands. In the 1850s the liberal Leiden theological faculty, which was to dominate Dutch theology in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, determined the contents of this journal.[192] Not only were many contributions written by Leiden professors, these professors were also defended against criticism in sharp reviews by their students. For example, in the 1856 volume Johannes Hooykaas Herderscheê made a stand for the modern theology of Scholten over against criticism by Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye. Chantepie de la Saussaye would go down in (Dutch) history as the father of so-called 'ethical theology', and was appointed professor in Groningen in 1872. However, in 1855 he was 'only' a minister (in Leiden, ironically). "We wonder," writes Hooykaas Herderscheê in his review, "why a minister enters the lists against a man of learning over against whom he feels his scholarly inferiority so strongly."[193]

Even more hostile is the anonymous review of Da Costa's objections against the proposed Bible revision (see above). This review in the 1855 volume starts as follows:

> Having finished this 50-page work one hardly knows what is saddest: either the tone of *arrogance* that speaks from this work, or the *ignorance* that emerges from it, or the *cunning* with which the writer tries to achieve the object he has in mind.[194]

The review, in the same volume, of Holwerda's *Bijdragen* is at least as sharp. At the outset, the reviewer frames the evaluation of Holwerda's work as

> the answer to the question whether being very well-read in the ancient classics sufficiently enables one to explain New Testament Scripture.[195]

192 See Broeyer, "Pluriformiteit" (1999), pp. 14–20.

193 "Ons kwam de vraag op, waarom een predikant zich dan in dit strijdperk waagt en tegen eenen geleerde optreedt, bij wien hij zijne wetenschappelijke minderheid zo gevoelt?" (Hooykaas Herderscheê, review of Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Openbare brief* [1856], pp. 876–877).

194 "Als men dit, 50 bladzijden bevattende, boekje heeft uitgelezen, weet men naauwelijks, waarover men zich meer heeft te bedroeven, of over den toon van *aanmatiging*, die uit dit boekje spreekt, of over de *onkunde*, die er in doorstraalt, of over de *listigheid*, met welke de Schrijver het doel, dat hij zich voorstelt, tracht te bereiken" (review of Da Costa, *Bedenkingen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 435).

195 "de oplossing van het vraagstuk, of uitgebreide belezenheid in de oude classici genoeg-

The answer is a whole-hearted 'no'.[196] This is 'demonstrated' by a refutation of three B readings preferred by Holwerda (two of which are now MCT readings),[197] four conjectures (one of which he clearly misunderstands),[198] two semi-conjectures (condemned as such: one should not declare a passage corrupt without proposing an emendation)[199] and two exegetical proposals.[200]

The reviewer also has several other points of criticism regarding the contents of *Bijdragen*. Most of these are off target. Holwerda thinks Codex Vaticanus is a superior manuscript, but does he not know two correctors have been working on this text?[201] It seems like the reviewer thinks a correction by definition obliterates the original reading. Holwerda is also blamed for being inconsistent: if he thinks Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus should be considered most authoritative, why does he sometimes reject their reading?[202]—as if Holwerda had suggested B and C are infallible.[203] Further, Holwerda could have omitted his exposition of the meaning of σῶμα and σάρξ,[204] because Theodorus Joannes van Griethuysen, a pupil of van Hengel, had recently written a strong dissertation on this subject.[205] However, Holwerda's exposition was precisely directed against Griethuysen's view on the matter.[206]

Everything indicates that this review was written with only one goal, namely to discredit Holwerda, that arrogant minister who had placed himself above van Hengel, the *éminence grise*, and whose opposition to the new translation was a powerful weapon in the hands of conservatives such as Da Costa. The name of van Hengel pops up time and again in the review.

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zaam is, om iemand in staat te stellen tot het verklaren van de Schrift des N. V." (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 671); "oude classici" ("ancient classics") is, of course, a classic example of a tautology.

196 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), p. 672.

197 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), pp. 675–678.

198 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), pp. 678–679 (cf. Holwerda, "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 531), pp. 680–682.

199 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), pp. 679–680.

200 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), pp. 682–684.

201 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), pp. 674–675. Later scholarship would demonstrate that there are actually three different corrector hands in B (see e.g. NA[28], p. 15*).

202 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), p. 672.

203 Cf. Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 32.

204 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 90–92 n. 1.

205 Review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), p. 676. Cf. van Griethuysen, *Σῶμα et σάρξ* (1846).

206 See Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 529.

> … the head of the exegetical school in *the Netherlands*, Prof. van Hengel, is not treated with the respect he owes due to his learning and age.[207]
>
> Refusing to be called van Hengel's pupil at any price, Holwerda in any case does not belong to the school the foundation of which was laid by the dignified old man whose mastery of this field is evidenced by the ripe fruits of thorough learning, and among whose pupils the present writer wants to be numbered, though he actually never attended the professor's lectures.[208]

It is not for nothing that the reviewer devotes most space to a defence of van Hengel's interpretation of John 21:15 (ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων; as 'do you love me more than *these things*?'), extensively disputed by Holwerda in *Bijdragen* (Holwerda defends the traditional and still common interpretation 'do you love me more than *they do*?').

The closing words of the review depict Holwerda as someone who does nothing but break down the good work of people like van Hengel:

> I … consider it such that Mr Holwerda has too little love of Scripture to be its interpreter. What more is it for him than a Greek book, and a book written in bad Greek at that? It seems to me that he should congratulate himself on not having been selected as one of the New Testament translators, whose specimens of Bible translation give me and surely many others with me the encouraging impression that that united labour will present us with a successful translation of Holy Scripture. How a writer like him dares to scoff at other's critical specimens, I truly do not understand; how he dares to assert not to be a friend of "hacking and cutting"—I do not get it. It is regrettable that Dr Holwerda does not apply his wide reading in the classics to contribute one building block for New Testament interpretation, but uses all his learning to pull down and demolish.[209]

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207 "het hoofd der exegetische school in *Nederland* Prof. van Hengel niet behandeld wordt met den eerbied, dien men schuldig is aan zijne geleerdheid en jaren" (original italics; review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 673).

208 "Weigert hij tot elken prijs om een leerling van Prof. v. Hengel genaamd te worden, zeker is het, dat Holwerda niet behoort tot de school, wier grondvester de waardige grijsaard mag heeten, van wiens meesterschap op dit gebied de rijpe vruchten van grondige geleerdheid getuigen en bij wiens leerlingen schrijver dezes wenscht gerekend te worden, al heeft hij werkelijk nooit de collegies des hoogleeraars bezocht" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 676).

209 "Ik houde het … daarvoor, dat de Heer Holwerda te weinig liefde voor de Schrift heeft, om

I have not been able to discover the identity of the reviewer. There is one cue: the author says he is not a student of van Hengel but still wants to be seen as such (see above). Initially Holwerda himself suspected that the editor of the journal himself, Christiaan Sepp (1820–1890), had written the review, with the help of Scholten.[210] However, an 1880 letter from van de Sande Bakhuyzen to Holwerda shows that Holwerda at that moment still did not know who was the author.[211]

2.12.3 *Antipathy towards New Testament Conjectural Emendation?*

In his overview of the history of NT conjectural criticism, van de Sande Bakhuyzen refers to this review as a typical example of the antipathy towards NT conjectural criticism, and therefore towards Holwerda, in the school of van Hengel.[212] I think this is an incorrect interpretation of the Leiden opposition to Holwerda.

Certainly, in the mid-nineteenth century there were very decided rejections of NT conjectural emendation in the Netherlands. For example, the young Doedes was strongly against in his 1844 treatise on NT textual criticism.[213] Doedes does not state that the original reading has always been transmitted. However, conjectures do not fall within the scope of textual criticism, because textual critics only work with historical data, that is, with manuscript readings. Inventions of the mind should never be mixed with what has been transmitted

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haar uitlegger te kunnen zijn. Wat is zij voor hem meer, dan een Grieksch boek, en nog wel een boek in slecht Grieksch geschreven? Mij dunkt, dat hij zich-zelven moet geluk wenschen van niet te zijn gekozen onder de vertalers des N. T., wier proeven van Bijbelvertaling mij en gewis velen met mij den bemoedigenden indruk geven, dat die vereenigde arbeid ons eene wèlgeslaagde vertaling der Heilige Schrift schenken zal. Hoe een schrijver als hij de critische proeven van anderen durft beschimpen, waarlijk ik begrijp het niet; hoe hij durft beweren, geen vriend van 'hakken of snijden' te zijn,—ik heb er geen denkbeeld van. Ik betreur het, dat Dr. Holwerda zijne belezenheid in de classici niet bezigt om één steen tot opbouw van de uitlegging des N. V. aantebrengen, maar al zijne geleerdheid aanwendt om aftebreken en te sloopen" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 685).

210 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 3r.

211 See van de Sande Bakhuyzen, letter to Holwerda, 2 Mar. 1880, f. 1r. Here van de Sande Bakhuyzen responds in the negative to Holwerda's question whether Willem Christiaan van Manen (1842–1905) could have been the author.

212 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), p. 61.

213 Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), pp. 294–295. Doedes' *Verhandeling* is still valuable for the discussion of the developments in NT textual criticism in the first half of the nineteenth century.

from the past.[214] According to this reasoning, conjectural emendation is not allowed for any ancient text. In an adapted form of Doedes' reasoning this awkward implication is avoided. In an 1856 review of Peerlkamp's *Opmerkingen*, in which several conjectures are proposed (see § 2.13), the anonymous reviewer stated:

> Because of the entirely unique historical and religious meaning obtained by the New Testament books their text should be based on objective evidence, from manuscripts or Church Fathers.[215]

This reviewer speaks of himself as having been taught by Peerlkamp in Leiden, so he was also a pupil of van Hengel. However, his fundamental rejection of NT conjectural criticism is inspired by the conservative Utrecht scholar Doedes, not by van Hengel. In fact, though van Hengel thought Holwerda was too critical of a text that can be based on such ancient sources (see § 2.8.5), van Hengel himself did propose a conjecture every now and then. In his response to *Betrekking* he even proposes a fourth emendation in addition to the three options proposed by Holwerda for Mark 10:10.[216] Remember also his view of 1 Pet 3:18–4:6 as a seriously corrupted passage (see § 2.6.2).

This position is also taken in the anonymous review in *Godgeleerde bijdragen*: Holwerda is not blamed for making conjectures per se, but for being too radical in doing so, and for presenting too pessimistic a view on the reliability of the NT text (cf. § 3.6.2). Neither in van Hengel's response nor in the anonymous review do I sense 'antipathy' towards NT conjectural emendation as such.

In this regard attention should also be paid to an interesting discussion between Niermeyer and the Mennonite minister Dirk Harting. Harting counted

214 See Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), p. 295. Later in his career, as a NT professor in Utrecht, Doedes would become more open to NT conjectural criticism. It seems Holwerda has influenced Doedes in this regard (see Doedes, *Hermeneutiek* [1866], p. 41). Under Doedes' supervision de Koe, Baljon, Franssen and van der Beke Callenfels wrote dissertations in which they accepted several conjectures (see § 1.3). Also, in his lectures and in letters Doedes made conjectures himself, some of which were eventually published by others (see Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* [2016]).

215 "Door de geheel eigenaardige historische en godsdienstige beteekenis, welke de boeken van het N. T. verkregen hebben, moet hun tekst alleen uit objectieve, in Hss. of Kerkvaders te vinden, getuigenissen worden vastgesteld" (review of Peerlkamp, *Bijdragen* in *BGW* [1856], p. 678).

216 See van Hengel, "Het wenschelijke (2)" (1855), p. 20; see also [cj12604].

nine omissions of supposed glosses by Dutch scholars in the second half of the 1840s: seven by Scholten (see § 2.11),[217] one by Niermeyer and one by Herman Steenberg,[218] another pupil of van Hengel. In an 1851 open letter to Niermeyer he exclaimed:

> So look, in the course of a few years, only here in Holland, no fewer than nine *glossema* in the historical books of the New Testament have been proposed, not supported by the authority of any manuscript![219]

Though Harting seems to allow for the possibility of an inserted gloss being spread over all manuscripts,[220] he thinks the nine recent Dutch proposals are not convincing.[221] He also fears there will be little left of the NT text if young and unexperienced scholars will pursue criticism along such lines.[222]

In his answer Niermeyer stresses that removing glosses by definition cannot lead to excessive cutting down of text.[223] He also thinks young scholars should not be overcautious regarding conjectural emendation, "as if … all places ever taken out by someone or considered dubious are immediately lost irrevocably."[224] As mentioned, this same Niermeyer, who thus advocated NT conjectural emendation two years before Holwerda's *Betrekking*, succeeded van Hengel in 1852.

In sum, van de Sande Bakhuyzen's interpretation of the 1855 review in *Godgeleerde bijdragen* as a typical example of the antipathy towards NT conjectural emendation in the school of van Hengel does not do justice to the actual historical data. While there were Dutch scholars who had objections of principle to NT conjectural emendation, van Hengel himself sometimes made a

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217 Apart from his conjectured omission of Matt 12:40, Scholten's proposals are in fact examples of 'redaction criticism'; see p. 60 n. 180.

218 See [cj12229] and [cj12341].

219 "Ziedaar derhalve, in den loop van weinige jaren, alleen hier in Holland, een getal van niet minder dan negen glossemata in de historische boeken des N. Testaments aangewezen, zonder dat men daarbij het gezag van eenig H. S. voor zich heeft!" (Harting, "Niermeyer" [1851], p. 175).

220 Cf. his response to Niermeyer's response: Harting, "Niermeyer (2)" (1851), p. 402.

221 Harting, "Niermeyer" (1851), pp. 176–180.

222 Harting, "Niermeyer" (1851), pp. 175–176, 180.

223 Niermeyer, "Harting" (1851), pp. 394–396.

224 "als of … alle plaatsen, die ooit door iemand uitgemonsterd of waaromtrent bedenkingen geopperd worden, al aanstonds onherroepelijk verloren zijn" (Niermeyer, "Harting" [1851], p. 399).

conjecture. And though he considered Holwerda too radical given the strong manuscript base for the NT text, Niermeyer, his student and successor in Leiden, had made himself known as a defender of a frank 'gloss hunt'. Finally, the review itself nowhere betrays antipathy towards NT conjectual emendation as such.

The previous sections of this chapter make it plausible that another motive lies at the heart of this review: here a scholar who admires van Hengel and who believes in the translation plan of the emeritus professor tries to discredit a fearsome enemy.

2.12.4 *Holwerda's Response*

Though his friends Geel and Vissering tried to dissuade him from doing so,[225] Holwerda decided to respond to the anonymous reviewer. In these days, it was not uncommen to react to a review by writing an 'anti-criticism'.[226] Holwerda tried to get his "Antikritiek" published in *Godgeleerde bijdragen* itself, but the redaction of this journal only allowed him to do so if Holwerda would allow the anonymous reviewer to add notes to Holwerda's "Antikritiek" (I have the impression that this would have been quite uncommon).[227] Eventually Holwerda's refutation ended up in the November 1855 issue of *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld*, the orthodox journal in which Holwerda had been praised to the skies three months earlier.[228]

Holwerda starts his "Antikritiek", surprisingly, with an apology:

> First of all, I admit I should have taken a different tone. I regret I have not done so. It would have been much better for myself, because now the kind of person I seem to be is completely different from who I really am. It would have been much better for the good and holy cause of truth, which I have never lost sight of.[229]

225 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 22 Oct. 1855, f. 1r.

226 See Broeyer, "Pluriformiteit" (1999), pp. 17–18.

227 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 22 Oct. 1855, f. 1r.

228 Holwerda writes to Vissering that he actually does not want to be associated with that journal (letter to Vissering, 22 Oct. 1855, f. 1r).

229 "Ik begin met de bekentenis, dat ik een anderen toon had moeten voeren. Het spijt mij, dat ik het niet gedaan heb. Het ware veel beter geweest voor mij zelven, die nu een geheel ander mensch schijn te zijn, dan ik werkelijk ben. Het ware veel beter geweest voor de goede en heilige zaak der waarheid, die ik nimmer uit het oog verloren heb" (Holwerda, "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 524).

In other words, Holwerda does not regret he has not paid enough respect or something like that; he regrets that his oppositional style of writing has led to a review in a leading journal in which he is discredited—where his sincere attempts to find truth are trampled on. Therefore, after having stated one more time that he has not been unfair towards Winer, Tischendorf or van Hengel, he promises not to speak about persons ever again.[230]

Apparently, Holwerda has learned by experience, because the tone in the "Antikritiek" is surprisingly calm.[231] He deals with each single point of criticism, and even agrees with the reviewer on one point, namely that it is difficult to find out how *Bijdragen* is structured.[232] He ends by saying this is not only the first, but also the last *antikritiek* he will ever write.[233]

In the December isssue of the same journal, however, there was an *antikritiek* directed at *him*. The polemic that followed is the subject of the next section.

2.13 Polemic with Peerlkamp (1855–1856)

2.13.1 Opmerkingen

In 1855 a remarkable work was released by the publisher P.N. van Kampen in Amsterdam. It is entitled *Opmerkingen betreffende de Staten-overzetting van de Evangeliën en de Handelingen der Apostelen* ("Remarks concerning the States Translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles"). The writer, who conceals his name, relates in the preface that he has been making notes on the New Testament, especially the Gospels and Acts, for a considerable time. Now that a plan has been conceived to revise the States Translation, he thinks it may be useful to share some of his observations. Although his notes are in Latin, he has chosen to publish in Dutch, since the Dutch NT translation is at stake.

According to his own count, the book discusses 173 passages from the States Translation.[234] According to the Amsterdam Database, in 26 cases the solution to a perceived difficulty in the States Translation is conjectural emendation. Several of these conjectures can at least be labelled ingenious. As an example the conjecture on Luke 16:21 may be related here.

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230 Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 527.

231 Cf. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, letter to Holwerda, 2 Mar. 1880, f. 1^{v}: "I do not think [I] would have answered so calmly" ("Ik geloof niet dat [ik] zoo bedaard zou geantwoord hebben").

232 Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 528; cf. review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* (1855), p. 672.

233 Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 536.

234 See Peerlkamp, "Repliek (1)" (1856), p. 487.

In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), the latter is introduced as follows (vss. 20–21):

> And at his gate lay a poor man named Lazarus, covered with sores (εἱλκωμένος), [21] who longed to satisfy his hunger with what fell from the rich man's table; even the dogs would come and lick his sores (ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἐπέλειχον τὰ ἕλκη αὐτοῦ).

The writer wonders why Luke uses the words ἀλλὰ καί to introduce the second half of verse 21. Ἀλλὰ καί is normally used to introduce something that reinforces the previous words. In this case one would expect something that worsens Lazarus' situation of waiting for crumbs to fall from the table. But instead dogs come who lick Lazarus' sores, thus giving him some relief.[235] Peerlkamp's second observation is that the TR reading ἀπέλειχον (MCT ἐπέλειχον) is inappropriate, ἀπέλειχον meaning 'they (completely) licked up', as if sores are a meal that can be finished.

The way out of these problems, the writer suggests, is to conjecture that Luke originally merely wrote ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἀπέλειχον, the object to be supplied being τὰ ψιχία ("the crumbs") or αὐτά ("them"): Lazarus longed for the crumbs, but the dogs came and ate them. But then a scribe did what scribes often do: he explicated what the writer left implicit, that is, what he *thought* the writer implied—but he was mistaken. He took his cue from εἱλκωμένος in verse 20, adding τὰ ἕλκη αὐτοῦ to ἀπέλειχον, resulting in the TR reading (also 𝔐). Because this clause was a bit awkward (see above), the 'finishing' proposition ἀπό in ἀπέλειχον was subsequently dropped or changed: ἔλειχον (D *pc*), ἐπέλειχον (Alexandrian/MCT) or περιέλειχον (*l* 2211 *pc*).[236]

2.13.2 *Holwerda's First Response*

The first public response to the anonymous *Opmerkingen* was a 'book announcement' by Holwerda in the 3 November 1855 issue of the *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode*. Holwerda speaks very positively about the work: it demonstrates "true learning" of a writer who is "independent and autonomous."[237] Holwerda is especially happy about the fact that the writer dares to go against the authority of the manuscripts many times. Yet he disagrees with the critic's

235 Family 13 (as well as 1 vg^{cl}) inserts καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ before ἀλλὰ καί, which shows that verse 21 was felt to be problematic at an early stage; see NA^{28}.

236 Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), pp. 77–79.

237 "ware geleerdheid"; "onafhankelijk en zelfstandig" (Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], c. 352a).

statement that conjectures are not to be adopted into the Greek text nor into a translation.[238] This is simply passing the buck, Holwerda thinks: after all, the translator has to come up with something meaningful. "Personally, I would rather translate *from a guess* than *at a guess*."[239]

In fact, Holwerda is overall rather critical:

> One can be in considerable agreement with each other regarding principles, yet differ substantially in the application. So when I say it seems to me most of the guesses, explanations and translations brought forward here cannot stand the test, this does not make me contradict myself.[240]

Regarding the conjectures Holwerda says that several among them deserve careful consideration, but that the writer cannot be completely cleared of the charge of carelessness in his conjectural criticism.[241] Holwerda criticises some specific conjectures and translation proposals, but promises to write a more extensive review later.[242]

Holwerda's announcement is dated 20 October 1855. In a letter to Vissering dated two days later Holwerda wrote that he does not know who the author is, and that he does not care either.[243] One month later Vissering wrote back:

> You probably already know that the writer of the *Opmerkingen* is Prof. Peerlkamp. He himself has not yet brought it out in the open as such and maybe he will not do so either. But some of his pupils knew that he had Latin notes on the New Testament lying about, and they immediately thought of him. Besides, the contents of the *Opmerkingen* fully correspond to what is known, from elsewhere, about Peerlkamp's great learning and shrewdness.[244]

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238 See Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), p. 43.

239 "Ik voor mij zoude liever *naar eene gissing*, dan *op de gis* vertalen" (original italics; Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], c. 352a).

240 "Men kan het over beginselen vrij wel met elkander eens zijn, doch in de toepassing aanmerkelijk verschillen. Wanneer ik dus verder zeg, dat het grootste gedeelte der gissingen, verklaringen en vertalingen, welke hier worden voorgedragen, mij toeschijnt den toets niet te kunnen doorstaan, dan ben ik daardoor nog niet met mij zelven in tegenspraak" (Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], c. 352a).

241 Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), c. 352b.

242 Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), cc. 352b–353a.

243 Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 22 Oct. 1855, f. 1^{r}.

244 "Dat de schrijver van de Opmerkingen prof. Peerlkamp is, zult gij thans wel reeds weten.

Holwerda was surprised: he had not known yet that Peerlkamp was the author, neither had he expected it; he thought Peerlkamp knew better Greek than is evidenced by the anonymous publication.[245]

2.13.3 *Babel-Like Confusion*

Peerlkamp immediately responded to the book announcement. His "Antikritiek" was published in the December 1855 issue of the *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld*. The choice of this journal is telling: Peerlkamp was conservative as regards matters of faith.[246] The main reason for his quick response is also related to his Christian faith. In his announcement, Holwerda had written:

> … since because of his skills many will assign to him an authority that, in my opinion, would strongly harm the good and holy cause of truth, I feel very compelled to point out the weak side of his work.[247]

Peerlkamp is touched on a tender spot:

> You mean the cause of the Gospel? My reverence for the Gospel, thanks be to God, cannot be greater; and I do not think I have provided valid reasons anywhere for you to doubt that.[248]

Zelf heeft hij het als zodanig nog niet bekend gemaakt en zal dat misschien ook niet doen. Maar sommigen zijner leerlingen wisten, dat hij Latijnsche aanteekeningen van het N. T. had liggen, en hebben dadelijk aan hem gedacht. Ook de inhoud der Opmerkingen komt geheel overeen het hetgeen van elders omtrent de grote geleerdheid en scherpzinnigheid van Peerlkamp bekend is" (Vissering, letter to Holwerda, 23 Nov. 1855, f. 1^{v}).

245 Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 1^{r}. Vissering, in his turn, sees a clear parallel between Peerlkamp's famous Horace edition (1834) and his NT conjectures: in both cases, he thinks, Peerlkamp falls victim to his own shrewdness. See Vissering, letter to Holwerda, 23 Nov. 1855, f. 1^{v}. About Peerlkamp's Horace editions, see Østmoe, *Poeta noster* (2014), pp. 131–192.

246 See van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 84.

247 "daar zijne bekwaamheden hem bij velen een gezag zullen geven, dat naar mijne overtuiging hoogstnadeelig zoude werken voor de goede en heilige zaak der waarheid, nu gevoel ik mij ten duurste verpligt, de zwakke zijde van zijn arbeid aan te wijzen" (Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], cc. 352a–352b).

248 "Bedoelt gij de zaak des Evangeliums? Ik heb, Gode zij dank, voor het Evangelium zoo grooten eerbied, als gij er met mogelijkheid voor hebben kunt; en ik geloof niet, dat ik ergens gegronde reden gegeven heb, dat gij daaraan zoudt mogen twijfelen" (Peerlkamp, "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 645).

In his extensive review, dated February 1856 and published in a supplement to the *Referent voor de theologische wetenschap*, Holwerda explained that "the good and holy cause of truth" means something entirely different to him. Holwerda does not want to relate NT research to matters of faith at all. For that reason he expressly refuses to reveal his own theological position: "I neither wish to look orthodox, nor to be called liberal."[249] By contrast, Holwerda has always attempted to "take up a purely scientific position."[250] Holwerda's use of the word 'truth' must be viewed in that context:

> All research, if it is to have any value, should make us find *truth*, and thus bring us closer to *the truth*, the complete knowledge of which is unattainable for us, but which cause may still be called a good and holy cause.[251]

In this depiction of research as a detached pursuit of truth that is valuable in itself one discerns the influence of Bake (see § 2.4.3). Holwerda simply approaches the New Testament the way the Leiden Grecian has taught him to approach classical writings (cf. § 2.8.5). Besides that, the way in which Holwerda speaks about "the truth" as the sum of everything that is true and as a "holy cause" may reveal the influence of Spinoza,[252] whose writings Holwerda studied extensively these years.[253]

And here the misunderstanding occurs: within the context of biblical scholarship, the word 'holy' usually refers to the Bible itself, being a 'holy Book'. For

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249 "Ik begeer evenmin orthodox te schijnen, als liberaal te heten" (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], p. 1). This may suggest that Holwerda is somewhere in the middle, whereas in fact, as shown earlier, he is more liberal than the liberal theologians of his days.

250 "mij … op een zuiver wetenschappelijk standpunt te plaatsen" (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], p. 2).

251 "Alle onderzoek, zal het eenige waarde hebben, moet ons *waarheid* doen vinden, en ons daardoor nader tot *de waarheid* brengen, wier volledige kennis voor ons onbereikbaar is, maar wier zaak toch wel eene goede en heilige zaak mag worden genoemd" (original italics; Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], p. 2).

252 Cf. Thomas C. Mark's interpretation of Spinoza's doctrine of knowledge: "Knowledge is desirable … because it makes us more like God; more nearly independent and more nearly free. In knowing, the mind gives a particular manifestation of the free being of God, …" (Mark, *Spinoza's Theory of Truth* [1972], pp. 125–126).

253 See Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 8 July 1856, f. 1^{v}. See also § 2.13.5. Aart de Groot incorrectly states that Holwerda only started to read Spinoza at the end of his life (see de Groot, "Holwerda" [1978], p. 91).

Peerlkamp it was; it may even have been the reason why he timidly remained anonymous. For Holwerda, by contrast, the *research into* the Bible is a holy cause, just like any other research in any other field of knowledge. When Holwerda fears that Peerlkamp's authority as an evidently learned man could "strongly harm the good and holy cause of truth," he is simply expressing, in his specific way, the scholarly concern of a reviewer who is critical of a publication he fears will become very successful. The expression was not meant to be personal; in fact, Holwerda had used exactly the same words in his "Antikritiek", referring to the damage he feared to have caused himself (see § 2.12.4).

This Babel-like confusion mainly demonstrates that Holwerda was a hard one to figure out for his contemporaries. Because the Gorinchem minister was opposed to the Leiden theologians, had made a stand for the States Translation, and had never publicly expressed anything liberal, he seemed to have orthodox sympathies (cf. § 2.12.1). It is understandable that Peerlkamp interpreted Holwerda's phrase "the good and holy cause of truth" according to its traditional, Christian meaning.

2.13.4 *A Pleasant Discussion*

After having thus removed the cause of misunderstanding, Holwerda makes his main point against Peerlkamp, which is in fact also directed at van Hengel: the States Translation is too easily put aside as an unreliable product of a pre-scientific age. Holwerda points out that the essence of making a good translation is to pay attention to the relation between the different elements in the text and the authorial intention, and that the early translators generally did so. According to Holwerda, they often made the right choice with the help of a good share of common sense, though they probably were not able to account for their choices in the methodical fashion of the nineteenth century. Holwerda blames Peerlkamp and others who are constantly presenting new interpretations and translations (Holwerda makes sure he does not explicitly mention van Hengel) for having an unwarranted distrust of the States Translation. In their zeal to do better than their unscientific forefathers they run the risk of falling victim to their own shrewdness and "mercilessly strangling and throttling human common sense on the altar of science."[254]

254 "om het gewone menschen-verstand op den altaar der wetenschap onbarmhartig te kelen of te verworgen" (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], p. 3).

Then follows, by way of a random check, an extensive discussion of the first seven proposals in Peerlkamp's *Opmerkingen*. Six of these proposals concern alternative translations; except for one case, where Holwerda prefers the B reading to the TR reading that underlies both the States Translation and Peerlkamp's alternative,[255] Holwerda defends the choices of the States Translation.[256] The seventh proposal is a conjecture, that is also rejected by Holwerda.[257]

The polemic would continue for a while, Peerlkamp publishing twice more in *Boekzaal* and Holwerda once more in *Referent*.[258] In the course of the discussion Holwerda himself made two semi-conjectures and four full conjectures on the New Testament.

Van de Sande Bakhuyzen writes that the polemic makes a 'pleasant' impression, the two scholars debating in an atmosphere of mutual respect.[259] However, this appears to be mainly thanks to Peerlkamp. In his initial announcement Holwerda had written: "However learned the writer may be, he does not seem to have put a lot of work into true language study."[260] The emeritus professor, internationally famed Latinist, responded to the insult of his pupil with humble kindness: "I await the remarks [of the promised extensive review] with high hopes."[261] In later contributions, he is lavish in his praise of Holwerda:

255 Matt 3:10/5 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], p. 15; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], pp. 6–7).

256 Matt 1:18/10–14 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], pp. 3–5; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], pp. 1–2); Matt 1:19/26–32 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], pp. 5–7; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], pp. 2–4); Matt 2:4/26–32 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], pp. 9–10; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], pp. 5–6); Matt 3:9/2–12 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], pp. 13–15; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], p. 6); Matt 3:15/16–18 (Holwerda, "Woord" [1856], pp. 15–16; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], p. 7). In all these cases the States Translation also appears to anticipate most modern translations.

257 Namely Peerlkamp's conjecture on Matt 1:20 (see [cj12277]); Holwerda, "Woord" (1856), pp. 8–9; cf. Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), pp. 4–5.

258 Peerlkamp, "Repliek (1) and (2)" (1856); Holwerda, "Open brief" (1856).

259 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 84.

260 "Hoe groot de geleerdheid des schrijvers ook moge zijn, van eigenlijke taalstudie schijnt hij weinig werk gemaakt te hebben" (Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855], c. 352b).

261 "Ik zie … die aanmerkingen met groote verwachtingen te gemoet" (Peerlkamp, "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 647).

> He can truly be a κόπις τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ["chopper of my arguments"],[262] and, while pruning useless branches, perhaps graft better ones at the same time.[263]
>
> … your Flavius Josephus, the publication of which all who in any way can judge the specimen you gave await eagerly.[264]
>
> [About the Bible translation project:] I wish they had invited you to make some contribution to it.[265]
>
> Your exposition of the direct question etc. contains much that is good, and may be very useful for many a reader.[266]

Especially in his final contribution to the discussion, Peerlkamp adopts an outright learning attitude towards Holwerda.[267] Holwerda makes no attempt to disguise that he is touched by the way Peerlkamp approaches him. In his last contribution he refers to Peerlkamp's "cordial tone, by which I was very moved, and by which I feel drawn to you."[268]

Something strange is going on here: Holwerda knew, in the meantime, that he was discussing with his teacher Peerlkamp, but he had to pretend he did not know the latter's identity ("Dear unknown").[269] Peerlkamp, in his turn, trumpeted Holwerda's praises, while the fact that the anonymous writer had been Holwerda's teacher probably remained unknown to most readers of the discussion.

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262 This expression is used by Demosthenes to describe Phocion in Plutarch's *Phocion* 5.4. My translation "arguments" for λόγων [see LSJ s.v. III.2] is based on the scholarly context in which Peerlkamp uses the expression. The context of Demosthenes and Phocion is rhetoric, hence e.g. the translation "speeches" in the Loeb Classical Library (Perrin, *Plutarch, Lives VIII* [1919], p. 157).

263 "Hij kan in waarheid eene κόπις τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων zijn, en met het afsnoeijen van onnutte takken misschien te gelijk betere inenten" (Peerlkamp, "Berigt" [1856], p. 384).

264 "uwen Flavius Josephus, naar welke uitgave allen, die over de door u gegevene proeve eenigzins kunnen oordeelen, verlangend uitzien" (Peerlkamp, "Repliek [1]" [1856], p. 487).

265 "ik had wel gewenscht dat men u had uitgenoodigd, om er eenig aandeel aan te nemen" (Peerlkamp, "Repliek [2]" [1856], p. 34).

266 "Uwe uitweiding over de direkte vraag enz. bevat veel goeds, en kan voor menig lezer zeer nuttig zijn" (Peerlkamp, "Repliek [2]" [1856], p. 41).

267 See Peerlkamp, "Repliek (2)" (1856), pp. 40,42,44.

268 "hartelijke toon, die mij diep getroffen heeft, en waardoor ik mij tot u aangetrokken voel" (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 65).

269 "Geachte onbekende," e.g. Holwerda, "Open brief" (1856), p. 65.

2.13.5 *Holwerda's Reputation*

Although Peerlkamp himself did not seem to be afraid of losing face in his discussion with Holwerda (perhaps overestimating his anonymity), for those who knew he was the anonymous writer and respected him as a brilliant Latinist, it was painful to see how he was taught a lesson by Holwerda. There is an undated letter of Cobet in which he urges Holwerda to put a stop to his polemic with Peerlkamp. Cobet's argumentation is, in fact, quite offensive to Peerlkamp. Holwerda should not waste his time by refuting someone "who, in this field [i.e. Greek or NT Greek] equals any other very ignorant and insignificant person."[270]

What did Geel think of Holwerda's attacks on his former colleague? It seems he took offence at it. From 5 December 1845 to 31 December 1855 there is an uninterrupted correspondence between Geel and Holwerda, including at least 44 letters from Geel to Holwerda (Holwerda's letters to Geel are probably lost).[271] In 1855 Geel wrote at least 11 letters to Holwerda. And then there is suddenly a gap, Geel's next letter being dated 17 November 1856 (the introductory excuses make clear that the gap is not caused by loss of letters). Geel congratulates Holwerda on his 'victory' over Peerlkamp. But he also remarks: "… you are making things too difficult for him."[272]

Apparently, there was a certain cultural code in those days concerning what attitude one had to adopt over against professors (cf. the criticism of Chantepie de la Saussaye in § 2.12.2), especially when they were old. Holwerda had first broken this code in his attack on van Hengel,[273] and now, although Peerlkamp had responded in admirable humbleness, he had done the same thing at the expense of Peerlkamp. Besides that, Holwerda had been highly critical of German giants.

In the Dutch theological world people spoke about Holwerda as an "aggressor,"[274] and as someone who "despises the work of others."[275] Or, as put in an otherwise highly positive review of *Bijdragen* in the cultural journal *De*

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270 "die op dit terrein gelijk staat met ieder ander diep onkundig en nietsbetekenend persoontje" (Cobet, letter to Holwerda, undated [1856], f. 1^{r}).

271 See Geel, letters to Holwerda, 1847–1858.

272 "gij maakt het hem toch al te moeielijk" (Geel, letter to Holwerda, 17 Nov. 1856, f. 1^{r}).

273 Cf. the review in *Godgeleerde bijdragen*, in which it is stated that van Hengel "is not treated with the respect he is owed due to his learning and age" ("niet behandeld wordt met den eerbied, dien men schuldig is aan zijne geleerdheid en jaren"; review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *GGB* [1855], p. 673); cf. also Cobet's reproach related in § 2.16.3.

274 "aanvaller" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 3^{r}).

275 "den arbeid van anderen veracht" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 1^{v}).

Recensent—Holwerda being named "'the Literator' among the national theologians,"[276] his conjectures considered "good":[277]

> … we should not dissemble that we would have taken much more delight in Dr Holwerda's polemic, had its tone been more that of that noble humanity which in spite of the opponent's faults is not blind to its unmistakable merits.[278]

Such criticism, and the awareness that he indeed had not played his cards well,[279] left its mark on Holwerda. In a letter to Vissering he sighs:

> Why would I continue working on the New Testament? … It causes me nothing but difficulties. I, pariah of scholarship, have made so bold as to take action against van Hengel and Peerlkamp.[280]

During his polemic with Peerlkamp Holwerda exchanged, in his personal study, the New Testament for Aeschylus and Plautus, "in order to forget in the old world the new one."[281] Another writer in which he took refuge, at the expense of study into the New Testament, is Spinoza. To the works of this philosopher, brought to his attention by his friend van Vloten,[282] Holwerda turned in turbulent times: "the clearer our understanding becomes, the firmer is also that quiet."[283] As a result, Holwerda did not publish anything on the New Testament in 1856 (apart from the Peerlkamp polemic) and 1857. Yet there was a Holwerda

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276 "'den Litterator' onder de vaderlandsche godgeleerden" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *RecALM* [1856], p. 450).

277 "goede" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *RecALM* [1856], p. 455).

278 "mogen wij niet ontveinzen dat ons die polemiek van Dr. Holwerda nog veel meer zou hebben behaagd, indien daarin meer de toon heerschte van die edele humaniteit, die door de gebreken der tegenpartij niet verblind wordt voor hare onmiskenbare verdiensten" (review of Holwerda, *Bijdragen* in *RecALM* [1856], p. 451).

279 Cf. his letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 3^{r}: "de onhandige wijze waarop ik te werk ben gegaan" ("the clumsy way I have gone about it").

280 "Waartoe zal ik aan het N.T. blijven werken? … Er zitten voor mij niets dan onaangenaamheden op. Ik, paria der wetenschap, heb mij verstout tegen van Hengel en Peerlkamp op te treden" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 4 Feb. 1856, f. 1^{r}).

281 "om in de oude wereld de nieuwe te vergeten" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 4 Feb. 1856, f. 1^{r}).

282 This can be ascertained from Holwerda's letters to van Vloten in the mid-1850s.

283 "hoe helderder onze inzigten worden, des te zekerder is ook die rust, …" (Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 8 July 1856, f. 1^{v}).

publication in 1856 that would fall within the scope of NT studies today, namely an article in which Holwerda proposes to read πρόσκειται instead of πρόκειται in Ignatius' *To the Philadelphians* 8:2.[284]

2.14 Romans 9:5 (1858–1859)

Rom 9:5b still belongs to the "exegetisch wie theologisch besonders umstrittenen Sätzen innerhalb der Paulusbriefe, ja innerhalb des Neuen Testaments überhaupt":[285]

> 4 οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται,
> ὧν ἡ υἱοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι,
> 5 ὧν οἱ πατέρες
> καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, **ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.**
>
> 4 They are Israelites,
> and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises;
> 5 to them belong the patriarchs,
> and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, **who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.**

In the Modern Critical Text there is a comma after σάρκα, which is the traditional punctuation. This makes the following clause refer to ὁ Χριστὸς (as is visible in the NRSV and most other modern translations), which is very remarkable: it would be the only instance in the undisputed Pauline epistles where it is predicated of Christ that he is God. In the first half of the nineteenth century another punctuation was often proposed by German biblical scholars (including Lachmann and Tischendorf in their editions): not a comma, but a full stop. In that case, verse 5b becomes an independent doxology directed at God, and one ends up with a translation like that of the RSV[2]: "God who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen."[286]

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284 Holwerda, "Ignatius ad Philad. c. 8" (1856).

285 Kammler, "Röm 9,5b" (2003), p. 164.

286 Other scholars have proposed conjectural emendations also leading to Christ not being called God; see [cj10296], [cj10297], [cj12908], [cj14931], [cj14648] and [cj12909].

This was exactly the kind of philological decision Holwerda was highly suspicious about: why do modern theologians adapt Paul's Christology to their own, instead of plainly rejecting it (cf. § 2.11)? After a period in which Holwerda's kept his NT study simmering, he returned with an extensive defence of the traditional punctuation in 1858.[287] In the beginning of January of this year he sent his article to Harting, the editor of the *Nieuwe jaarboeken voor wetenschappelijke theologie*.[288] When Harting responded that it would take a few weeks before they would print the next issue, Holwerda seized the opportunity to polish up his contribution.[289] Exactly at that moment the fifth instalment of van Hengel's Romans commentary appeared, in which he deals with chapters 9 and 10.[290] Not entirely unexpectedly, at Rom 9:5 van Hengel supported the modern punctuation.[291] Since Holwerda could not "*ignore* the work of a man whose word alone for most people means more than ten arguments brought forward by someone like me,"[292] he decided to incorporate van Hengel's exegesis in his article. So he was attacking the Leiden emeritus again.[293] Cobet's indignation about this would become the last straw in the ever more difficult relationship between him and Holwerda (see § 2.16.3).

287 Holwerda, "Rom IX:5" (1858).

288 After Leiden's *Godgeleerde bijdragen*, the 'open minded orthodox' *Nieuwe Jaarboeken* were probably the best option for Holwerda (cf. Broeyer, "Pluriformiteit" [1999], pp. 20–24). Besides, Harting was a bosom friend of Vissering (see e.g. Zilverberg, "Vissering" [1998], p. 439).

289 See Holwerda, "Rom IX:5" (1858), p. 55.

290 Van Hengel, *Ad Romanos, fasciculus V* (1858) (*non vidi*).

291 See the 1859 second volume of van Hengel's Romans commentary containing instalments 4, 5 and 6 (van Hengel, *Ad Romanos* 2 [1859]), pp. 343–360.

292 "het werk van een' man te willen *ignoreren*, wiens woord alleen bij de meesten meer geldt, dan tien argumenten door iemand, als ik ben, aangevoerd" (original italics; Holwerda, "Rom IX:5" [1858], p. 56).

293 In the 1859 volume of the *Nieuwe jaarboeken* the discussion continued: Sytze Hoekstra Bzn., the influential liberal Mennonite theologian, defended the modern punctuation over against Holwerda ("Rom. IX:5"). Holwerda, who always had to have the last word, responded to Hoekstra in an article that is even longer (76 pp.) than his first article (56 pp.) and Hoekstra's reaction (57 pp.); see Holwerda, "Nog een woord over Rom. IX:5" (1859).

2.15 Review of Tischendorf's *Septima* (1860)

In his 1855 "Antikritiek" Holwerda wrote:

> In my papers I still have plenty of conjectures I do not *want* to make public yet. Why not? Because I do not have enough certainty about them yet.[294]

It would take five years before Holwerda published NT conjectures again. Some of these undoubtedly belonged to the 'stock' he refers to above; others will have occurred to him while working his way through Vissering's NT translation[295] and while reviewing the seventh edition of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*,[296] which appeared in 1859.[297] In 1860 Holwerda published his review of Tischendorf's *Septima*, again in the *Nieuwe Jaarboeken*. He seized this opportunity to put forward, once more, a large number of NT conjectures, proposing no fewer than 36 full conjectures. For some reason, Holwerda merely proposed 2 semi-conjectures in the review (*Betrekking*: 11; *Bijdragen*: 15).

Holwerda's critical discussion of Tischendorf's edition is very important for an understanding of Holwerda's text-critical views; it will be dealt with extensively in § 3.4.

2.16 Troubles with Cobet (Rift in 1862)

2.16.1 *Cobet Thwarting Holwerda*

Notwithstanding the laudatory footnote in *Betrekking* (see § 2.5), the relationship between Cobet and Holwerda was problematic; eventually Holwerda would break with Cobet and would even oppose him in scholarly debate.

The problem during their early contact was that Cobet apparently thwarted Holwerda in his NT scholarship. In an 1876 letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen

294 "In mijne papieren heb ik nog eene menigte conjecturen, die ik nog niet publiek maken *wil*. Waarom? Omdat ik van hare zekerheid nog niet genoeg overtuigd ben" (original italics; Holwerda, "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 534).

295 Cf. Holwerda, letter to Vissering, 26 Nov. 1855, f. 2^{r}.

296 Cf. the several conjectures Holwerda makes in response to text-critical decisions by Tischendorf; see Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 557–580.

297 That is, in 1859 the seventh edition appeared as a two-volume book; from 1856 to 1859 this edition had already appeared in several instalments (see Scrivener, *Introduction* [^{2}1874], p. 427).

(kept, but not sent),[298] Holwerda tells of van Hengel's rejection of his 1 Peter essay (see § 2.6). According to Holwerda, van Hengel was not the only one who was negative about his piece. "… Cobet also spat it out, and that without showing me anything that was wrong."[299] Therefore Holwerda, "discouraged, flung the piece into a corner."[300]

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298 "Not sent, to prevent unnecessary difficulties" ("Niet verzonden, om noodelooze onaangenaamheden te vermijden"; Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 3^{r}). Whereas the letter itself is written in black ink, these words belong to some 'cataloguing' remarks written in large characters with a pencil on ff. 3^{r} and 3^{v}. On f. 3^{v} of his 1876 unsent letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, Holwerda writes: "These letter drafts too may enable my children to defend me if the vile Cobet wants to slander me after my death" ("Ook deze conceptbrieven kunnen mijne kinderen in staat stellen, om mij te verdedigen als de laaghartige Cobet mij misschien na mijn dood nog wil lasteren").

Holwerda speaks in the plural about *drafts*. The only other draft I found in the Leiden library was also of a letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, this one dated 1 December 1879. This letter has the following remark (pencil, large characters): "Also not sent, but kept for my children. Somewhat moderated and changed sent anyway on 2 Dec. 79" ("Ook maar niet verzonden, maar voor mijne kinderen bewaard. Eenigzins gemitigeerd en gewijzigd toch verzonden den 2 Dec. 79"; letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 1 Dec. 1879, f. 2^{v}). This draft does not reveal anything about Cobet, but it contains an introduction that refers to certain tensions in the relationship between Holwerda and van de Sande Bakhuyzen, which seem to have been caused by the latter suggesting that Holwerda is too negative about Cobet.

The pencilled remark "These letter drafts *too* …" (my italics) on the 1876 draft refers to other letters containing information that could be used in defence of Holwerda. Here Holwerda probably refers to three letters from Cobet, which he catalogued in the same style (pencil, large characters). First is the letter to Holwerda dated 16 March 1853, catalogued as the "letter in which Cobet (seemingly well-meaning) dissuades me from engaging in polemics" ("brief waarin Cobet mij (schijnbaar welmeenend) het polemiseeren afraadt"; f. 2^{v}). Second is the letter to Holwerda which is undated but can be placed in 1856. This letter is cynically catalogued as "Cobet's respect for Peerlkamp" ("Respect van Cobet voor Peerlkamp"); cf. § 2.13.5. Third is the letter from Cobet to Holwerda's wife, Theodorica Catharina Holwerda-Bertling, dated 18 September 1855, in which he agrees to her request to help Holwerda obtain the vacant professorial position at the Faculty of Arts in Groningen. Holwerda characterises this letter as "the deceptive letter" ("de bedriegelijke brief," f. 2^{v}).

Holwerda's pencilled remarks are the work of an old man, at the end of his life, who wanted to make sure his children would find the most important letters after his death. The causes of Holwerda's very negative view of Cobet, as evidenced by his letter labelling, will become clear as the main text progresses.

299 "ook Cobet spoog haar uit, en wel zonder mij iets aan te wijzen dat verkeerd was" (Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 2^{r}).

300 "smeet het stuk ontmoedigd in een hoek" (Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 2^{v}).

Holwerda's choice of words—"spat out"—is obviously coloured by later animosity. Had Cobet really despised his work, Holwerda would certainly not have continued asking Cobet for his opinion on NT matters in the early 1850s;[301] nor would he have praised Cobet so highly in *Betrekking*.

However, in a letter dated 29 February 1852, Cobet pleasently but expressly urged Holwerda to hold off on publishing his "specimen criticum".[302] Cobet warns that one should only publish when one feels the work cannot be improved further. According to Cobet, this is not yet the case for Holwerda:

> You did not yet get so far. You can and you will deliver something much better. And *therefore* I implore you: do not yet publish your specimen, because you will, by doing so, harm rather than support the right cause. And you will regret it too late.[303]

Cobet's advice sounds strange; indeed, nowhere in the letter does Cobet mention any specific point that Holwerda should improve. I cannot escape the impression that an improper motive inspired Cobet to dissuade Holwerda from publishing (see further § 2.16.4).

In his 1876 unsent letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen Holwerda comes up with an explanation for Cobet's strange attitude towards him in the early 1850s. He calls to mind a conversation with Cobet and someone else which, I presume, took place at some point before Cobet's 29 Feburuary 1852 letter. During this conversation, Cobet had shared a new conjecture of his. While the other person had admired Cobet's proposal—the type of response Cobet was used to—Holwerda himself had not said a word; he knew the passage concerned well and had been convinced Cobet's conjecture was off target. Holwerda thinks Cobet had taken offence at this.[304]

Cobet's obstruction is subtle. The tone of his letters to Holwerda is very friendly. "You can and you will deliver something much better," he writes concerning Holwerda's "specimen criticum." With even warmer words, in a letter dated 16 March 1853, he tries to dissuade Holwerda from publishing against van

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301 Cf. Cobet, 5 letters to Holwerda, 1852–1856; Cobet and Geel, "Bijvoegselen" (1853).

302 Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 29 Feb. 1852, f. 1^{v}.

303 "Gij zijt nog zoo ver niet gekomen. Gij kunt en zult iets veel beter kunnen leveren. En *daarom* roep ik u toe: geef uw specimen nog niet uit, want gij zult daardoor aan de goede zaak meer kwaad dan goed doen. En het zal u te laat berouwen" (word in italics underlined in original; Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 29 Feb. 1852, ff. 1^{v}–2^{r}).

304 See Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, ff. 2^{v}–3^{r}.

Hengel. Now Cobet is terribly concerned for Holwerda, who, he fears, will take too seriously the hateful reactions his work will arouse (which would happen indeed).[305]

Cobet's letter could not put Holwerda off from publishing *Betrekking*. And then there is that 'un-Holwerdian' footnote on p. 93, in which Holwerda bends his knee to Cobet. Was this an attempt to make amends to Cobet? In any case, Cobet made the effort to respond to *Betrekking*, and Holwerda, in his turn, thankfully published this response as a supplement. The relationship seemed crystallised out: Holwerda had acknowledged Cobet's superiority; Cobet was willing to support Holwerda.

2.16.2 *Holwerda Annoyed*

Holwerda's correspondence provides no indication of contact between him and Cobet during 1854 and 1855. Then there is an undated short letter from Cobet to Holwerda, probably from the second half of 1856, delivered in Gorinchem by someone identified as "D." This is the third letter in which Cobet urges Holwerda not to publish, in this case not to continue his polemic with Peerlkamp. He also asks Holwerda to stay over in Leiden for a few days during the Christmas holidays. Holwerda's response to this letter, three full pages with more than 1500 words, is dated 22 December 1856. From this moment on, things went wrong between the two men.

In his letter Holwerda politely declines Cobet's offer in the letter he "recently"[306] received, but asks whether Cobet would be so kind as to give his feedback on a number of new NT conjectures that have occurred to him. He also complains about the "foolish" exegesis of scholars like van Hengel and Scholten (see § 2.8.2), saying that Scholten (Cobet's colleague) belongs in Meerenberg—the psychiatric institute in Bloemendaal.[307]

Cobet does not seem to have answered this letter. From a letter from Geel to Holwerda, dated 25 June 1857, we learn what happened. Sometime in the first half of 1857, Holwerda and Cobet met, and Holwerda again asked for Cobet's opinion of his new conjectures. Instead of actually examining the conjectures themselves, Cobet apparently spouted a torrent of classical parallels. Disappointed and annoyed, Holwerda went home and wrote a letter to Geel (which is lost unfortunately) in which he seems to have made a fool of Cobet. Geel responded (25 June 1857):

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305 See Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 16 Mar. 1853, ff. 1^{v}–2^{r}. Only later would Holwerda regard Cobet's letter as a deceptive attempt to thwart him (see p. 83 n. 298).

306 "onlangs" (Holwerda, letter to Cobet, 22 Dec. 1856, f. 1^{r}).

307 Holwerda, letter to Cobet, 22 Dec. 1856, f. 1^{v}.

> You have presented me with a marvellous letter, which I will not tear up, as long as there is no danger that it falls into the hands of C. [Cobet] or S. [Scholten]. You make those two friends come across so badly, that I at least cannot look at C. without thinking of your letter. You have good reason to be angry; C. is an eccentric character; seemingly, he does not like to occupy himself with N.T. Greek, and actually does not know what to do with it—in fact he detests it: he should admit that to you, rather than blind you with classical knowledge and leave you unsatisfied. He certainly does not know how to handle the five or six passages you presented to him—he should have admitted that straightforwardly—and you, I think, should have told him straight out that he hated it, or could not handle it—it is a small weakness of his, that he does not like to make a blunder in front of others.[308]

However, Geel tries to calm Holwerda's feelings:

> You are a great fellow; do not break with him: you do know how hard he works, and therefore you should be a little accommodating.[309]

This fatherly advice seems to have helped for some time, but eventually the relationship between Holwerda and Cobet deteriorated; as the next section shows, this had to do with van Hengel.

2.16.3 *The Rift*

Like Holwerda (but unlike most theologians in the 1850s), Cobet seems to have had a low opinion of van Hengel's work. In his 16 March 1853 letter to Holwerda

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308 "Gij hebt mij een kostelijken brief geschonken, dien ik niet verscheuren zal, zolang er geen gevaar is dat hij in handen van C. of S. kome. Die twee vrienden komen er bij u zo schraal af, dat ik ten minste C. niet kan aankijken, zonder aan uwen brief te denken. Gij hebt veel reden om boos te zijn; C. is een zonderlinge patroon; het schijnt dat hij zich met de N.F. graeciteit liefst niet bemoeit, en er eigenlijk niet mee te regt kan—eigenlijk er een ergen hekel aan heeft: hij deed beter het u te bekennen, dan u met een klassische rijkdom te overstelpen en onbevredigd te laten gaan. Met uwe vijf of zes plaatsen, die gij hem voorgehouden hebt, kan hij zeker niet te regt,—dit had hij rondborstig moeten bekennen—en *gij*, dunkt mij, hadt hem zonder omweg moeten zeggen, dat hij of er een hekel aan had, of er niet mee teregt kon—het is een klein zwak van hem, dat hij niet gaarne voor het oog van een ander, een bok schiet" (Geel, letter to Holwerda, 25 June 1857, f. 1^{r}; word in italics is underlined in original).

309 "Gij zijt een te goede vent om met hem af te breken: gij weet toch hoe hard hij werkt, en gij moet hem daarom iets toe geven" (Geel, letter to Holwerda, 25 June 1857, f. 1^{v}).

he writes, as yet another argument against Holwerda's planned polemic, that engaging in a polemic with van Hengel is νεκρὸν ἐπισφάττειν, that is, flogging a dead horse.[310] However, around 1860 the emeritus professor helped Cobet by checking the proofs of the latter's two Xenophon school editions (full of conjectures, of course).[311] Now Cobet speaks thankfully about the "venerabilis et amabilis senex,"[312] the "venerable and amiable old man."

When Holwerda met Cobet in 1862, probably after a long period during which there had been no contact, Cobet reproached Holwerda for his Rom 9:5 articles, in which he had turned against van Hengel (see § 2.14). In his unsent 1876 letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, Holwerda wrote about this collision:

> Years ago I went to Cobet to speak to him about something unrelated to the study. Then he suddenly started to tell me off regarding my Rom IX vs. 5 disquisition. That piece was, I don't know what … it was disgraceful of me to harass that old man (van Hengel) … I was this and that; *it had been my duty to look up van Hengel* and play the student; etc. etc. All this he said partly with soft, but taunting and baiting words, partly with the worst rudeness one can imagine. … Therefore I immediately decided to let the man go and never see him again. However, upon my departure, he also said this: "If you ever say anything about me, just wait and see. You don't have friends."
>
> …
>
> Coming home, I found the *Hellenica* and in it much that [I] could [not] accept. Immediately I wrote my *Annotatio*.[313]

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310 See Cobet, letter to Holwerda, 16 Mar. 1853, f. 1v.

311 Cobet, *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις* (1859); *Ξενοφώντος Ἑλληνικά* (1862). In spite of van Hengel's proofreading, both editions are marred by a mass of spelling and accentuation mistakes, as painfully shown by Nicolaas Jacob Bernard Kappeyne van de Coppello (review of Cobet, *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις* [1859]; review of Cobet, *Ξενοφώντος Ἑλληνικά* [1863]).

312 Cobet, *Ξενοφώντος Κύρου Ἀνάβασις* (1859), p. [ii]. Cf. Cobet, *Ξενοφώντος Ἑλληνικά* (1862), p. [ii]: "venerabili."

313 "Voor jaren kom ik bij Cobet om hem over eene zaak, die met de studie in geen verband stond te spreken. Toen begon hij, op eens mij over mijne verhandelingen over Rom. IX vr. 5 door te halen. Dat stuk was, ik weet niet wat. Het was laag van mij den ouden man (V. Hengel) te kwellen … ik was dit en dat; *het was mijn plicht geweest, van Hengel op te zoeken* en leerlingetje te spelen; enz. enz. Dit alles zeide hij gedeeltelijk met zachte, maar tergende en sarrende woorden, gedeeltelijk met de grootste onbeschoftheid, die men zich denken kan. … Ik nam dan ook dadelijk het besluit, om den man te laten loopen en nooit

That Cobet's 1862 edition of Xenophon's Ἑλληνικά arrived at the door of Holwerda's parsonage on the exact day of his quarrel with the Leiden Grecian could very well be Holwerda dramatising the narrative somewhat. Nevertheless, in 1866 Holwerda's *Annotatio critica in Xenophontis Hellenica* was published. It can be characterised as an 108-page attack on Cobet's edition (or, as Holwerda himself puts it ironically, referring to Cobet's threat "If you ever", as the answer to "a *professorial* but not very *friendly* invitation").[314] Very many Cobet conjectures are refuted: either because the transmitted reading is acceptable, or because someone else has already made a better conjecture, or because Holwerda himself makes a better conjecture. Every now and then Holwerda also makes an excursion into the New Testament; he defends six conjectures he made before and makes five fresh conjectures.

With Holwerda's *Annotatio* history repeated itself. Just as Holwerda went against the Dutch NT authority, van Hengel, after being rejected by him, this time he went against the Dutch authority in Greek literature after feeling humiliated by him. History repeated itself in another respect as well: just as van Hengel was defended by one of his admirers (see § 2.12.2), now one of Cobet's students stepped into the breach for his master: Samuel Adrianus Naber wrote a critical review of Holwerda's *Annotatio* in the 1868 volume of *De Gids*, an influential cultural journal.

Naber agrees with Holwerda that Cobet makes many conjectures without providing a palaeographic argument.[315] In other words, in many cases Cobet's conjectured original cannot be shown to have led to the transmitted reading through known scribal errors.[316] However, Cobet is free to make such conjectures because of his "subtle feeling for the special nature of Greek."[317] Moreover,

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meer te gaan zien. doch bij het henengaan zeide hij ook nog dit: *Zeg van mij ereis wat, dan zal ik je. Jij hebt geene vrienden.* …

Te huis komende vond ik de Hellenica en daarin niet weinig waar [*lacuna*] berusten kon. Dadelijk schreef ik mijne Annotatio" (words in italics are underlined in original; Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan 1876, ff. 1^{v}–2^{r}).

314 "het antwoord … op eene *professorale*, maar niet zeer *vriendelijke* uitnodiging" (words in italics are underlined in original; Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 2^{r}).

315 Cobet provided argumentation for textual decisions in his Xenophon editions in several articles in the Leiden classical journal *Mnemosyne*.

316 This concerns the cause dimension in the conjectures classification used in this study (see § 4.2.3.1).

317 "fijn gevoel … voor de eigenaardigheid van het Grieksch" (Naber, review of Holwerda, *Hellenica* [1868], p. 389).

only those who have an equally subtle feeling are allowed to severely criticise Cobet's conjectural criticism.[318] It is clear Naber does not think Holwerda meets this test.

The rift between Holwerda and Cobet would not be healed anymore. On the contrary, as late as 1878 there is a hostile letter from Cobet to Holwerda in which Holwerda is somehow discredited as someone who too eagerly aspired to the Leiden professorate in the late 1840s. This made Holwerda fear Cobet would not even leave him in peace after his death.[319] Unfortunately, Holwerda has not kept this letter, probably because he did not want Cobet's accusations to be read by his children.[320]

2.16.4 *Interpretation*

In 1876 Holwerda concluded bitterly about the years in which he was in touch with Cobet:

> … for many years he has confounded, *intimidated*, misled me; only very seldom (three or four times) has he told me something that could really be useful to me.[321]

The contrast with the flattering footnote in *Betrekking* cannot be greater.

It is difficult to assess what went wrong between Cobet and Holwerda, because we hear only one side of the story. The fact remains that, in the beginning, Cobet thwarted Holwerda for some reason. Was it because Holwerda did not praise him openly, as Holwerda thought afterwards? Or was there another motive? Cobet may have been jealous because Holwerda had become Geel's new protégé.[322] Nor is it unthinkable that van Hengel had already set Cobet against Holwerda (cf. n. 88 in this chapter). Still, Cobet's rather unstimulating

318 Naber, review of Holwerda, *Hellenica* (1868), p. 389.

319 See p. 83 n. 298.

320 Cf. Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 3^{v}: "Ook deze conceptbrieven kunnen mijne kinderen in staat stellen, om mij te verdedigen als de laaghartige Cobet mij misschien na mijn dood nog wil lasteren" ("These letter drafts too may enable my children to defend me if the mean Cobet wants to insult me after my death").

321 "hij heeft mij jaren lang overbluft, *gebrutaliseerd*, misleidt; maar zeer zelden (drie of vier keeren) heeft hij mij iets gezegd, dat mij waarlijk nuttig kon zijn" (word in italics underlined in original; Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 1^{r}).

322 Cobet had had an extensive correspondence with Geel during his years abroad. Cobet's letters to Geel have been published (Cobet, *Brieven aan Geel* [1891]).

attitude did not prevent Holwerda from praising Cobet highly in *Betrekking*, which even may have been an attempt to strengthen the bonds with him.

Only some years later did Holwerda become disappointed in Cobet, who, according to Geel, did not know what to do with NT Greek, trying to conceal this by performing his classical 'party piece'.[323] Holwerda no longer asked for Cobet's advice. Cobet, in his turn, became closer with van Hengel, who probably poured out his heart to Cobet about Holwerda, thus further wedging the two men apart. The 1862 meeting (the occasion of which remains unclear) set the powder keg off, leading to Holwerda's 1866 criticism of Cobet's treatment of Xenophon. Yet Holwerda's *Hellenica* should not be reduced to merely an expression of animosity. Just as Holwerda sincerely disagreed with van Hengel (while the impulse to polemise was personal), he undoubtedly honestly thought Cobet's conjectural criticism of Xenophon had been too unrestrained.[324]

What about Holwerda having heard something useful from Cobet only three or four times? Does this mean that a search for Cobet's influence in Holwerda's criticism, as planned above, is, on second thoughts, not meaningful? That would be the wrong conclusion. Though Holwerda's praise in *Betrekking* may have been somewhat exorbitant, his later remark that he has hardly learned anything from Cobet is evidently prompted by strong feelings of animosity towards Cobet. Yet it will be interesting to see what happens if it is measured to Holwerda with the measure he used to reject many Cobet conjectures. Are Holwerda's conjectures generally defensible as regards the supposed cause of corruption? Chapter 4 will show that most of the time Holwerda meets this test, but not always.

323 Surprisingly, however, in 1860 Cobet would cooperate with Kuenen in the publication of Codex Vaticanus; see p. 117 n. 80.

324 Cf. Hall, *Companion* (1913), pp. 152–153, who refers to Cobet's Xenophon editions as typical examples of conjectural criticism that attempts to "normalise the text of an author by smoothing down roughnesses and imposing an unnatural standard of syntax and vocabulary" (p. 152).

2.17 The Last Two Decades (1866–1886)

Holwerda had been a governor of the Latin school in Gorinchem since 1854. In 1866, at the age of 61, Holwerda even became rector and started to teach all subjects in three different classes, while still being a minister as well. This was too much for him, writes van de Sande Bakhuyzen, especially because

> soon the disease manifested itself that undermined the strength of his body and his mind, that made him dejected and depressed. He kept working diligently, but especially after 1870 the decay, which would continue for years, became too noticeable.[325]

In 1872 Holwerda was accorded emeritus status as a minister, but he kept working at the Latin school until this school was closed in 1879.[326] So while his strength was waning, he kept labouring for the Gorinchem community. It therefore does not come as a surprise that in Gorinchem local history Holwerda is described as a highly valued person, not only in the church (also after his 'coming out' as a modern theologian in 1872), but also in social life.[327] However, Holwerda's dedication to the Gorinchem community, in combination with his poor health, was obviously at the expense of his scholarly production in the last two decades of his life.

This is not to say that Holwerda did not publish anything at all after his 1866 Xenophon criticism. In 1868 he wrote an extensive "Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van den canon des Nieuwen Testaments" ("Contribution to the History of the New Testament Canon"),[328] thus participating in the international discussion occasioned by Tischendorf's (conservative) historical excursion *Wann wurden*

325 "spoedig openbaarde zich de kwaal die de krachten van zijn lichaam en zijn geest ondermijnden [sic], die hem gedrukt maakte en zwaartillend. Nog bleef hij ijverig werkzaam, maar vooral na 1870 werd de achteruitgang maar al te merkbaar, die jaren zou aanhouden" (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], p. 89). I have not found yet more information about the illness that undermined Holwerda's vitality in the latter part of his life, nor do I know whether this illness eventually caused his death; a full investigation of Holwerda's later letters may provide clues.

326 See Knipscheer, "Holwerda" (1930), p. 802.

327 Cf. Hoving, "Geschiedenis 9" (2000), p. 190. Cf. also Holwerda, letter to van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 15 Jan. 1876, f. 3r: "Ik woon hier onder menschen die mij veel genegenheid betoonen" ("I live among people who show me much affection").

328 Holwerda's article was published in *Godgeleerde bijdragen*; apparently, the van Hengel affair had become closed.

unsere Evangelien verfasst? (1865).[329] And in a shorter article in the 1873 volume of van Vloten's *Levensbode* he tried to demonstrate that the remarkable Johannes Hermanus Gunning had occupied an untenable position: one cannot accept the mythical character of many Bible stories and consider oneself an orthodox minister at the same time.[330]

Finally, Holwerda published three articles in the annual of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde ("Royal Academy of Sciences, Literature Section"), the membership of which he had obtained in 1859.[331] The first one is in the 1872 volume, on Josephus: his use of sources, the opinion of the Pharisees about *fatum* in relation to Josephus' own viewpoint, and Josephus' assertion that the Jewish messianic hopes had been fulfilled in Vespasian.[332] The other two are about the other Jewish writer who is so important for understanding the NT language, Philo. In 1873 Holwerda presented several conjectures on Philo's *De specialibus legibus*,[333] and in 1884 on *De posteritate Caini*.[334]

Holwerda's NT publications are restricted to a very limited period: from 1853 (*Betrekking*) to 1862 ("1 Petr III:18–IV:6"). Why did Holwerda not publish anything else in this field after 1862? Of course, a scholar may have different interests during different periods. After all, Holwerda started with Josephus, and

329 Stanley E. Porter has included a reissue of the English translation by John Bickford Heard in his recently published short biography (*Tischendorf* [2015]).

330 Holwerda, "Moderne orthodoxie en vergelijkende godenleer" (1873). Cf. Holwerda, *Herinneringen* (1872), pp. 15–18.

331 See e.g. the *Leydse Courant* of 13 May 1859 ("Amsterdam, 11 mei"). Holwerda was also a member of the Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap ("Provincial Utrecht Society") from 1851 onwards (see e.g. the *Rotterdamsche Courant* of 1 July 1851: "Rotterdam den 30 junij," p. 2 c. b), and from the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde ("Society of Dutch Literature") from 1857 onwards (see e.g. the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* of 2 July 1857: Bodel Nyenhuis, "Programma").

332 Holwerda, "Allerlei uit Josephus" (1872).

333 Holwerda, "Philo" (1873). Holwerda had presented these conjectures on 10 February 1873 at a meeting of the Literature section of the Royal Academy ("Vergadering den 10den februari 1873" [1873], where Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium* is mentioned mistakenly on p. 207). The Literature section hoped the Academy would take up the challenge of making a new edition of Philo's works, using Holwerda's expertise ("Vergadering den 10den februari 1873" [1873], pp. 207–208). This possibility never materialised. As with Josephus (see § 2.4.1), Holwerda's Philo conjectures would find a home in the apparatus of a Berlin *editio critica maior* (Cohn, Wendland and Reiter, *Philonis opera* [1896–1930]).

334 Holwerda, "De posteritate Caini" (1884).

would have stuck to Josephus much longer had his publisher dared to invest in an *editio critica maior*. However, Holwerda had already occupied himself for a very long time with NT textual criticism before he started to publish about it in 1853 (see § 2.8.4). Besides, for Holwerda the initial impetus for the study of other Greek authors was their relevance to an understanding of the New Testament (see § 2.4.1). Therefore the absence of any NT publication after 1862 is remarkable.

Holwerda did not feel like publishing on the New Testament anymore, probably mainly because of the Leiden opposition to him. Already in 1856 Holwerda considered stopping his NT studies because of the negative responses to his work (see § 2.13.5). In 1862, subsequently, two things happened that may have strengthened Holwerda's aversion to the field. First, Jacob Geel passed away. He had been the one who had encouraged Holwerda to enter the field of NT studies, and who had tried his best to get Holwerda an academic position. Besides, as a Leiden scholar, he had taken sides with Holwerda and against van Hengel, while also considering Holwerda better qualified to judge in NT matters than Cobet. The support of Geel, who was held in great respect in the Dutch scholarly world, must have been important to Holwerda.

In the same year in which Holwerda thus lost his patron from the Leiden classical faculty, he began to live in a state of war with Cobet, the then hero of that same faculty. Because of his opposition to van Hengel, Holwerda appeared to have got on the wrong side of the critic he had adored. Now Leiden had even become more anti-Holwerda than it had already been—at least, this is how it must have felt like for Holwerda. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen writes that during the last quarter of his life Holwerda was weighed down by a sense of not having received the appreciation he deserved.[335] This may explain not only why Holwerda neglected the New Testament, but also why he put the Latin school above scholarly publications during the last two decades.

Fortunately, at the end of his life Holwerda tasted the pleasure of finding out he had inspired young scholars with his NT conjectural criticism, through them fathering the Dutch Movement of Conjectural Criticism (see § 1.4).

Holwerda died on 15 April 1886 in Oegstgeest, where he had lived during the last years of his life. Four of his children were still alive at that time.[336] One of them was Antonie Ewoud Jan Holwerda (1845–1922). He would become professor of Archeology and Ancient History in Leiden, as well as director of the

335 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 89.

336 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" (1886), p. 73.

Rijksmuseum of Oudheden ("National Museum of Antiquities") in that place. His son Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1873–1951) succeeded him as director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. The younger Jan Hendrik Holwerda became popular in the Netherlands by making archeology accessible to the layman in his museum and in non-specialist publications.[337]

2.18 Conclusion

On the basis of what has been shown in this chapter, the following conclusions can be drawn as to the *Sitz im Leben* of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism.

Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism should be seen as resulting from two things that came together in Holwerda's life. On the one hand, Holwerda was a classical scholar, excelling in Greek and Latin during his studies, continuing the study of Greek literature after he graduated from university, and eventually publishing an impressive text-critical study on Josephus in 1847. Holwerda approached Greek literature the way the Leiden *classici* had taught him: with a focus on textual criticism and a willingness to emend.

On the other hand, Holwerda became a minister, working with the New Testament continuously. In his attempts the explain the New Testament to his congregations, he became frustrated with the NT grammar and exegesis of his day. He concluded that the only way to make sense of many NT passages was to emend them, just as one had to emend profane literature. In other words, in Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism the Leiden Radical School meets the New Testament.

Still, it took a long time before Holwerda started to make his NT conjectures public—not earlier than his 1853 *Betrekking* (leaving aside Holwerda's 1830 dissertation conjecture). Two persons, Geel and van Hengel, had stimulated Holwerda to enter the arena of biblical scholarship, albeit in rather different ways. Geel had been pushing Holwerda to publish on the New Testament ever since 1847, initially hoping Holwerda would succeed the Leiden NT professor, van Hengel. Van Hengel in his turn reacted negatively to the draft of an exegetical study by Holwerda (not a student of his), and did not want to have anything to do with him after Holwerda had defended himself too frankly. Due to this conflict, Holwerda had no chance of obtaining the Leiden professorate.

In 1852 van Hengel published a book in which he provided many examples of the way in which he thought the New Testament part of the States Trans-

337 See Brongers, "Holwerda" (1979).

lation should be revised. Holwerda disagreed with many proposals and seized the opportunity to take his revenge—finally doing what Geel had wanted him to do for years—by publishing *Betrekking*. This little book is, on the one hand, an attack on van Hengel's exegesis; on the other hand, it is the presentation of dozens of conjectures that occured to Holwerda during his first twenty years as a minister.

In the same year Holwerda put in print *Aanteekeningen*, followed by "Opmerkingen" in 1854. In these two publications one finds more elaborated discussions, Holwerda treating only eight passages, five of which he tries to restore by means of conjectural emendation. Then followed *Bijdragen* (1855), which is more like *Betrekking* regarding the number of passages discussed and conjectures proposed. With these four publications Holwerda made his name in the world of theology as a shrewd philologist with a remarkakle knowledge of the Greek language and classical literature. He attracted attention because of his pessimistic view on the quality of the transmitted NT text and the many textual proposals 'against all authorites'. In theological circles people generally thought Holwerda went too far; in literary circles Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism was judged more positively.

Holwerda also attracted much attention on account of the way in which he went against all *human* authorities.[338] Tischendorf, the authority on NT textual criticism, Winer, the authority on NT grammar, de Wette, one of the authorities on NT exegesis, van Hengel, the authority on NT exegesis in the Netherlands, the Groningen school that had dominated Dutch theology for decades, Scholten, the new star of Dutch theology—Holwerda disagreed with all of them on many points. The tone in which he did so was not that of a polite conversation, but of a polemic: confident, direct, uncompromising, harsh, sometimes cynical (in the case of van Hengel obviously with a personal motive). As a consequence, Holwerda became *persona non grata* in Groningen, and more importantly, in the Leiden liberal theological faculty, which became dominant in the 1850s.

Yet at the same time Holwerda became popular among conservatives, who did not not know that Holwerdas's theological convictions actually were much more remote from traditional Christian theology than Scholten's. For them Holwerda simply was an enemy of their enemy, defending the States Translation over against van Hengel's revision proposals, and accusing liberal theologians of abusing philology in order to make the New Testament say what they wanted

338 For this reason the dissertation version of this study was titled *Against All Authorities* (2017).

it to say. Holwerda's popularity among conservatives subsequently led to a discrediting review of *Bijdragen* in the Leiden theological journal *Godgeleerde bijdragen*. In other words, however much Holwerda would like to separate philology from theology, he got caught up in the fight between modernists and conservatives that was raging in the Netherlands in the 1850s.

Holwerda confirmed his reputation as an aggressor by attacking Peerlkamp's *Opmerkingen*. This attack shows Holwerda did not think strategically. After all, he could have left the writer in peace as a welcome partner in the battle against the exaggerated respect for the transmitted text of the New Testament. Yet Holwerda would never be led by such a consideration. He appreciated that the writer was led by the same text-critical principles, but he disagreed with most specific proposals, and he had to go against it publicly—almost compulsively, one is tempted to say. All in all, the debate between Holwerda and Peerlkamp may have worked out badly for the status of NT conjectural criticism in the Netherlands, the two most prominent defenders being unable to reach agreement over concrete passages.

Holwerda had a complicated relationship with Cobet. At first Holwerda acknowledged Cobet's genius and presented himself as Cobet's pupil, even though Cobet thwarted Holwerda in his NT scholarship. But when Cobet appeared to be unwilling and unable to think along with Holwerda about a few difficult NT passages, Holwerda became disappointed in him. Still later Cobet reproached Holwerda for attacking van Hengel, which led to a definitive rift. Subsequently, Holwerda attacked Cobet's conjectural criticism of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, criticising him for making conjectures without providing a paleographical argument.

Although Holwerda was notorious for his ruthless opposition to scholarly authorities, his letters show that he was also very sensitive to their judgment about his work. Indeed, precisely because he was so uncertain and in need of confirmation by 'the establishment', he became, once the establishment had turned him down, such a vehement opponent of authoritative scholars. Eventually Holwerda became embittered by a sense of not having received the appreciation he deserved; apparently the rejection by van Hengel and his school outweighed the praise given to him by many others. In 1862 Holwerda's last NT philology publication appeared; his last NT conjectures are found in his 1866 attack on Cobet.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Aspects of Holwerda's New Testament Conjectural Criticism

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theoretical aspects of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism. It not only offers a response to the second subquestion of this research, but it also provides the necessary background for answering the third subquestion (about the nature of the specific conjectures and their place in the scholarship on the passages concerned). Chapter 3 deals with Holwerda's text-critical ideas insofar as he has made these ideas explicit. The three main publications as regards the number of conjectures are also the three main publications as regards explicit theoretical and methodological viewpoints: *Betrekking* (1853), *Bijdragen* (1855) and "Tischendorf" (1860). Holwerda's theoretical framework that can be deduced from these sources is also brought into connection with the frameworks of contemporary scholars, whose theoretical positions are analysed using both primary and secondary sources.

The chapter starts with a section about the NT text-critical method of Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf (§ 3.2), which is followed by an analysis of Holwerda's method (§ 3.3). Subsequently, Holwerda's attack on Tischendorf regarding the role of exegesis in textual criticism is reviewed (§ 3.4). Then follows a section about Holwerda's best manuscripts (§ 3.5), which is divided into a subsection about the scholarly background of Holwerda's search for best manuscripts (§ 3.5.1), one about Holwerda's defence of the priority of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (§ 3.5.2) and one about Tregelles as an interesting mirror image regarding best manuscripts (§ 3.5.3).

In all the above sections conjectural emendation already plays a role. Yet section 3.6 focuses entirely on Holwerda's NT conjectural emendation, not only by rendering his argumentation in *Betrekking* (§ 3.6.1) as well as in *Bijdragen* and "Tischendorf" (§ 3.6.2), but also by going into Holwerda's surprising ignorance and negligence of earlier NT conjectural criticism (§ 3.6.3). In the concluding section (§ 3.7) all strands of the chapter are drawn together.

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3.2 Background

3.2.1 *Introduction*

Within the standard narrative about the history of NT textual criticism, the period from Griesbach to Westcott and Hort is generally viewed as the age in which the Textus Receptus was overthrown. Of course this is a fitting characterisation of what happened. However, and this is probably a problem for the historiography of larger periods in general, those who tell the story of nineteenth-century NT textual criticism tend to highlight the specific contributions made by the various scholars to that one shared goal of discarding the Textus Receptus. For example, in his valuable *The Story of the New Testament Text* Robert F. Hull Jr. presents Griesbach as the critic who prepared the break with the Textus Receptus,[1] Lachmann as the one who made that break,[2] Tischendorf and Tregelles as those who "wrested even more territory previously held by the Textus Receptus,"[3] while Westcott and Hort, "standing on the shoulders of four giants,"[4] finished the job.[5] When it comes to a description of text-critical method in this "age of optimism,"[6] Hull confines himself to Westcott and Hort, "whose work was the culmination and refinement of the best efforts of their predecessors."[7]

Below it will be shown that there are actually important differences between the respective approaches of Griesbach (§ 3.2.2), Lachmann (§ 3.2.3), Tischendorf (§ 3.2.4) and Tregelles. Tregelles' methodological expositions date from the 1850s and are not proper 'background'; to him, however, a section later in the chapter is devoted (§ 3.5.3).

3.2.2 *Griesbach*

Johann Jakob Griesbach's first NT edition (1774–1775) is a true landmark in the history of NT textual criticism. His critical text and the underlying theory would determine the field for at least fifty years. Griesbach (1745–1812) was the first scholar to break with the Textus Receptus, and he did so mainly on the basis of so-called 'external' considerations—considerations concerning manuscripts. Griesbach makes the concept of 'families' of manuscripts,

1 Hull, *Story* (2010), pp. 72–75.
2 Hull, *Story* (2010), pp. 75–78.
3 Hull, *Story* (2010), pp. 78–82 (quote on p. 81).
4 Hull, *Story* (2010), p. 85.
5 Hull, *Story* (2010), pp. 82–85.
6 Hull, *Story* (2010), p. 71.
7 Hull, *Story* (2010), p. 98.

which was invented by Bengel and refined by Semler, the cornerstone for the establishment of his text. Semler and Griesbach actually use the term 'recension' instead of 'family', suggesting that a conscious revision lies behind each family. Griesbach allots many majuscules, minuscules, versions and Fathers to the three recensions discerned by Semler: Alexandrian, Western and Constantinopolitan (Semler: 'Eastern'; Westcott & Hort: Syrian; today: 'Byzantine'). Griesbach regards the agreement of two recensions over against the other one as a good reason for deviating from the Textus Receptus, especially the unity of the Western and Alexandrian texts, which are older than the Constantinopolitan text. In this way the few ancient Alexandrian and Western manuscripts are protected against the bulk of mainly younger Constantinopolitan manuscripts: one should not count manuscripts, but recensions.[8]

3.2.3 *Lachmann*

As stated above, Griesbach's NT text and theory (a second edition of his *Novum Testamentum Graece* appeared in 1796–1806) dominated the field of NT scholarship for decades. But in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, two critics, Lachmann and Tischendorf, went much further in the direction Griesbach had taken.[9] Karl Konrad Friedrich Lachmann (1793–1851) was a famous Berlin classicist and Germanist. This son of a minister and, according to his biographer, "wahrhaft frommer Christ,"[10] published a NT edition based solely on the most ancient manuscripts in 1831. In the 1830 volume of the journal *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* Lachmann had already explained his method. In an article entitled "Rechenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments" he writes:

> Sobald ich das Feld der neutestamentlichen Kritik ubersah, ward mir auch klar, daß, wenn ich auf die Dauer arbeiten wollte, Griesbach mein Führer nicht seyn dürfte.[11]

8 Cf. e.g. Tregelles, *Account* (1854), pp. 83–92; Epp, "The Eclectic Method" (1976), pp. 225–229; Epp, "Textual clusters" (2012), pp. 524–530.

9 A third scholar, Johann Martin Augustin Scholz (1794–1852), took an entirely different direction, preferring the younger Constantinopolitan manuscripts to the most ancient manuscripts, as Scrivener and Burgon later in the same century would do; see for an extensive discussion Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), pp. 176–212.

10 Hertz, *Lachmann* (1851), p. 247. Cf. several religious poems by Lachmann (Hertz, *Lachmann* [1851], "Beilagen" pp. iii–xii).

11 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), pp. 817–818.

Lachmann reproaches Griesbach for having posed the wrong question. One should not ask: "Ist Ursach vorhanden, von der gewöhnlichen Lesart abzugehn?", but: "Ist Ursach vorhanden, von der am besten bezeugten Lesart abzugehn?"[12] In other words, notwithstanding his plea for ancient manuscripts, Griesbach had still privileged the younger ones by taking the Textus Receptus as his base text, and being overcautious in substituting ancient readings. Later, Reuss would prove Lachmann right: Griesbach's text still follows the Textus Receptus (Elzevier 1633) in about two thirds of his one thousand test 'variation units'.[13] Lachmann radicalises Griesbach's confessed preference for the Alexandrian and Western manuscripts by offering a text that is solely based on the oldest witnesses belonging to these two families.[14] Lachmann merely sides with the Textus Receptus in just over a quarter of Reuss' test variations.[15]

A second way in which Lachmann radicalises Griesbach's method, in which external criticism already played an important role, is by renouncing internal criticism altogether. Lachmann simply prints the Alexandrian (which he calls 'Eastern') reading, and if Alexandrian witnesses are not unanimous, the Western reading is decisive.[16] In case the Western reading fails to do so, Lach-

12 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), p. 818.

13 The text of Griesbach's first edition (*Libri historici* [1774–1775], *NTG 2* [^{1}1775]) coincides with that of the Elzevier 1633 edition (Hoelzlin, *NT* [^{2}1633]) in 665 out of 1000 variations; the text of Griesbach's second edition (*NTG 1* [^{2}1796], *NTG 2* [^{2}1806]) in 648 variations. See Reuss, *Bibliotheca* (1872), pp. 195 and 198.

14 As Eastern (Griesbach: Alexandrian) witnesses Lachmann uses A, B, C, H(015) P, Q, T, Z, and Origen; as (mainly) Western witnesses D(05 and 06), E(08), G(012), the Old Latin, the Vulgate, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Hilary of Poitiers and Lucifer (see Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" [1830], pp. 830–838; cf. *NTGL 1* [1842], p. lvi).

15 The text of Lachmann's 1831 minor edition (*NTG*) coincides with that of the Elzevier 1633 edition (Hoelzlin, *NT* [^{2}1633]) in only 252 out of 933 variations; in the remaining 67 variation units Lachmann abstains from choosing between two readings because of their equal external value (cf. main text below). In the major edition, there are only a few changes compared to the minor edition; see Reuss, *Bibliotheca* (1872), p. 244.

16 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), pp. 826–827. In this way, Lachmann actually offers the text that was common only in the Eastern Christian world in the fourth century. Lachmann does not do so because he thinks the Eastern text is better than the Western. His choice is merely practical: since, according to Lachmann, there is no Greek Western text in a large part of the New Testament, equating the Eastern and Western witnesses would lead to a Greek-Latin text. In the major edition Lachmann published together with Philipp Buttmann Jr, in 1842 (vol. 1) and 1850 (vol. 2), Lachmann reconsiders this decision, which also leads to changes in the critical text: in those parts of the New Testament where a Greek Western text is extant, it is as important as the Eastern text (see Lachmann and Buttmann, *NTGL 1* [1842], p. xxxiii; cf. Tregelles, *Account* [1854], p. 100).

mann uses brackets to indicate uncertainty or he simply prints two readings as equal.[17] This unique method, never used before Lachmann, nor ever after him, is connected to Lachmann's unique purpose: he merely wants to offer the common text of the fourth century, not the Holy Grail of the authorial text itself.[18] Lachmann judges that the text of the most ancient NT manuscripts, though better than the younger ones, is still full of corruptions. Therefore he thinks that *a priori* a text based on what is transmitted cannot be held to be the original text. In order to approach that text, one should try to emend the fourth-century text.[19] Indeed, moving from the polished Constantinopolitan text to the battered fourth-century text increases the need for conjectural emendation[20]—Lachmann defends a fair number of conjectures in the preface to his 1842/1850 major edition.[21]

3.2.4 *Tischendorf*

Although, as mentioned, in today's standard narrative of the history of NT textual criticism Lachmann takes pride of place for being the first scholar to break entirely with the Textus Receptus, in his own day his edition was more criticised than praised, especially because of the narrow basis on which he built his text.[22] Therefore not Lachmann, but the young Tischendorf, whose zeal for presenting correctly the evidence of as many Greek manuscripts, versions and Fathers as possible is diametrically opposed to Lachmann's sober apparatus, succeeded to Griesbach's throne in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[23] Tischendorf is the second scholar who refuses to take the Textus Receptus as his base text, instead building his text entirely on ancient witnesses.[24] But in many respects his critical approach is very different from Lachmann's. First, Tischendorf goes back to the traditional aim of restoring the original text itself, not the

17 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), p. 827.

18 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), p. 819.

19 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), p. 839.

20 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830), p. 839.

21 See Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* (2016).

22 See e.g. Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), pp. 157–159. For a general impression of the highly critical reception of Lachmann's edition in both Germany and England, see Tregelles, *Account* (1854), pp. 98–99, 110–115; Tregelles himself speaks up for Lachmann.

23 Porter's idea that Tischendorf "invented" the field of NT textual criticism (*Tischendorf* [2015], p. 63) is somewhat exaggerated.

24 For Tischendorf all manuscripts from before the tenth century count as 'ancient', but within this group of ancient manuscripts more ancient also means more valuable (Ti^2, p. xii).

text of the fourth century.[25] This does not mean that he thinks the most ancient manuscripts are free of corruptions,[26] but he has a different 'coping strategy' for this problem from Lachmann. Whereas Lachmann thinks the gap between the text of the most ancient families and that of the autographs can only be bridged through conjectural emendation, having discarded the Constantinopolitan text beforehand, Tischendorf falls back on this text if the Western (called 'Latin' by Tischendorf) and Alexandrian texts fall short; he does not make use of conjectural emendation.[27]

Second, while Lachmann can be seen as the champion of external criticism, Tischendorf follows Griesbach in combining external and internal considerations. Tischendorf's basic idea is external: the original text ought to be sought in the oldest manuscripts, namely those from before the tenth century. Griesbach's principle 'older is better' should also be applied *within* this rather large group of 'oldest manuscripts': in principle, a fourth-century manuscript should be considered more reliable than a ninth-century one.[28]

Another external consideration in Tischendorf's theory is that the Alexandrian (called 'African' by him) family is more reliable than the Western one.[29] However, Tischendorf thinks that the whole enterprise of classifying manuscripts is problematic (while he also rejects the idea that families originate in revisions). He warns that there is no single manuscript in which a text form is purely represented, and that not all NT sections are equally suitable for the family approach. Especially the Gospels are amenable to it, less so Acts and Paul, even less so the Catholic Epistles, and least of all Revelation.[30] In fact, Tischendorf believes that the only unquestionable division is that between older manuscripts (before the tenth century) and younger manuscripts (from the tenth century onwards).[31] Therefore the five[32] rules Tischendorf says he follows in making individual textual decisions are largely concerned, not with external, but with internal criticism:

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25 See e.g. Ti^2, p. xiv; Ti^7, vol. 1, p. xxxi.

26 See e.g. Ti^7, vol. 1, pp. xxx–xxxi.

27 Surprisingly, in the *prolegomena* of his respective editions, Tischendorf does not even discuss the phenomenon of conjectural emendation (cf. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 46).

28 Ti^2, p. xii.

29 Already in Ti^1, pp. xlviii–xlix; see also Ti^2, p. xxxii.

30 This is still the general opinion today; see e.g. Parker, *Introduction* (2008), pp. 173–174.

31 See Ti^2, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

32 In Ti^1 there are only four rules (see pp. xlix–l).

1. Readings attested by a single manuscript are suspicious; also suspicious are readings belonging to one class of manuscripts, if they seem to originate in a learned recension.
2. A reading that evidently or very probably originated from scribal error is to be rejected.
3. When there is a parallel passage, the more divergent reading is to be preferred—other things being equal.
4. The reading that may have occasioned the other readings, or comprises the elements thereof, is to be preferred (considered the most important by Tischendorf).[33]
5. A reading has to be in accord with NT Greek and with the author's style.[34]

Only the first rule contains external considerations, but not in that a certain family or a certain combination of families is privileged. As Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813–1875) stresses regarding Tischendorf:

> It should be stated that Tischendorf does not allow his theories on recensions to influence his judgment in the application of his critical rules; for such theories, if true, are not the basis on which a judgment must be formed, but are a part of the conclusions arrived at from data previously ascertained.[35]

But what about Tischendorf's principle 'older is better'? Why is this not one of Tischendorf's critical rules? Does the age of the witnesses only come into play when internal criticism is not sufficient? Or does the same apply here

33 See e.g. Ti^2, pp. xvii–xviii.

34 My paraphrase of e.g. Ti^2, p. xiv: "1. Pro suspectis habenda sunt quum quae uni vel alteri horum testium prorsus peculiaria sunt, tum quae classium quae videntur esse certam indolem ab homine docto profectam redolent. 2. Arcenda sunt quae quamvis pluribus probata testibus ex errore librariorum orta esse manifestum vel maxime probabile est. 3. Locis geminis quum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti maximeque evangeliorum synopticorum, ad quos inter se exaequandos priscorum hominum praecipuam curam pertinuisse certum est, testibus qui consensum praebent praeferendi sunt qui dissensionem testantur, nisi gravis caussa aliud suadeat. 4. Probabilis prae ceteris ea est lectio quae reliquarum ansam dedisse vel etiam earum elemcnta in se continere videtur. 5. Studiose tenenda sunt quae a ratione sermonis graeci auctoribus Novi Testamenti proprii neque minus a consuetudine uniuscujusque horum scriptorum commendantur." For a translation, see Tregelles, *Account* (1854), pp. 120–121.

35 Tregelles, *Account* (1854), p. 128. Cf., more cautiously formulated, Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), p. 232.

as to manuscript families, namely that Tischendorf's preference for the older manuscripts is merely a conclusion "arrived at from the data previously ascertained"? Tischendorf's *prolegomena* are unclear on this point. He seems to be liable to the same criticism Jacobus Isaac Doedes (1819–1897) passed on Griesbach, namely that the latter provides no theoretical reflection on the huge conflict between external and internal considerations.[36]

In whatever way Tischendorf combined or did not combine internal and external criticism, the text of his 1841 first edition was regarded as roughly similar to that of Lachmann: apparently, at the end of the day, the most ancient witnesses triumphed in the edition of the Leipzig manuscript hunter as much as in the edition of the Berlin professor.[37] However, in 1872 Reuss would show that Tischendorf's 1841 text, though about as remote from the Textus Receptus as Lachmann's text (only coinciding in 280 out of 1000 cases), still differs from Lachmann's fourth-century text in 198 out of the 933 relevant test variations.[38] In his 1849 text Tischendorf even disagrees with Lachmann in 80 more variation units, 72 of which concern agreements with the Textus Receptus. Already in 1854 Tregelles remarked that Tischendorf should have been more faithful to the most ancient manuscripts.[39] As will be described in § 3.5.2, Holwerda expressed something similar simultaneously.

3.3 General Text-Critical Method

In order to properly locate Holwerda in the NT textual criticism of his days this section describes in some detail his sophisticated text-critical method, which he mainly expounded in *Bijdragen* (1855).[40] Though he does not use the term himself, Holwerda's method is a perfect example of a decision tree. This tree is presented in Figure 1 (keeping in mind that generally Holwerda casts his theoretical remarks in the form of the confrontation between two readings only).

One starts in the top left corner (1). If there is no variation among the manuscripts, the unanimous reading should still be tested on internal grounds (3). If

36 Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), pp. 111–112; cf. Epp, "The Eclectic Method" (1976), pp. 228–229.

37 See e.g. Rinck, review of Tischendorf, *NTG* (1842).

38 See Reuss, *Bibliotheca* (1872), p. 254. About the 933 test passages, see p. 100 n. 15.

39 Tregelles, *Account* (1854), p. 126.

40 Especially on pp. 8,32,45–46,49,63–64,72,79; see also *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 12–13, and "Tischendorf", pp. 554,559.

there is an insuperable difficulty (whether grammatical or regarding the interpretation) the critic has to look for an acceptable reading in the early versions or Fathers (10). However, Holwerda thinks research in this area has not yielded much. Therefore the next steps in the process are more promising: correction (11) or conjectural emendation—Holwerda uses the term 'guess' ("gissing") (12). By means of a guess the critic "may retrieve the writer's own hand, or at least obtain a much correcter idea of what he said."[41] Holwerda reserves the term 'correction' ("verbetering") for those cases where one can hardly speak of corruption, if it all, such as matters of word division.[42] Although a simple correction is to be preferred to even the most plausible guess, unfortunately, in many cases the corruption is such that a correction will not do. Even worse are passages that are so heavily corrupted that trying to restore the original reading through a guess is pointless, and that can only be declared corrupt by the critic. In fact, the number of corrupt passages that cannot be restored outnumber the emendable passages by far. In the present study, declarations of corruption without proposed emendation are called 'semi-conjectures'.

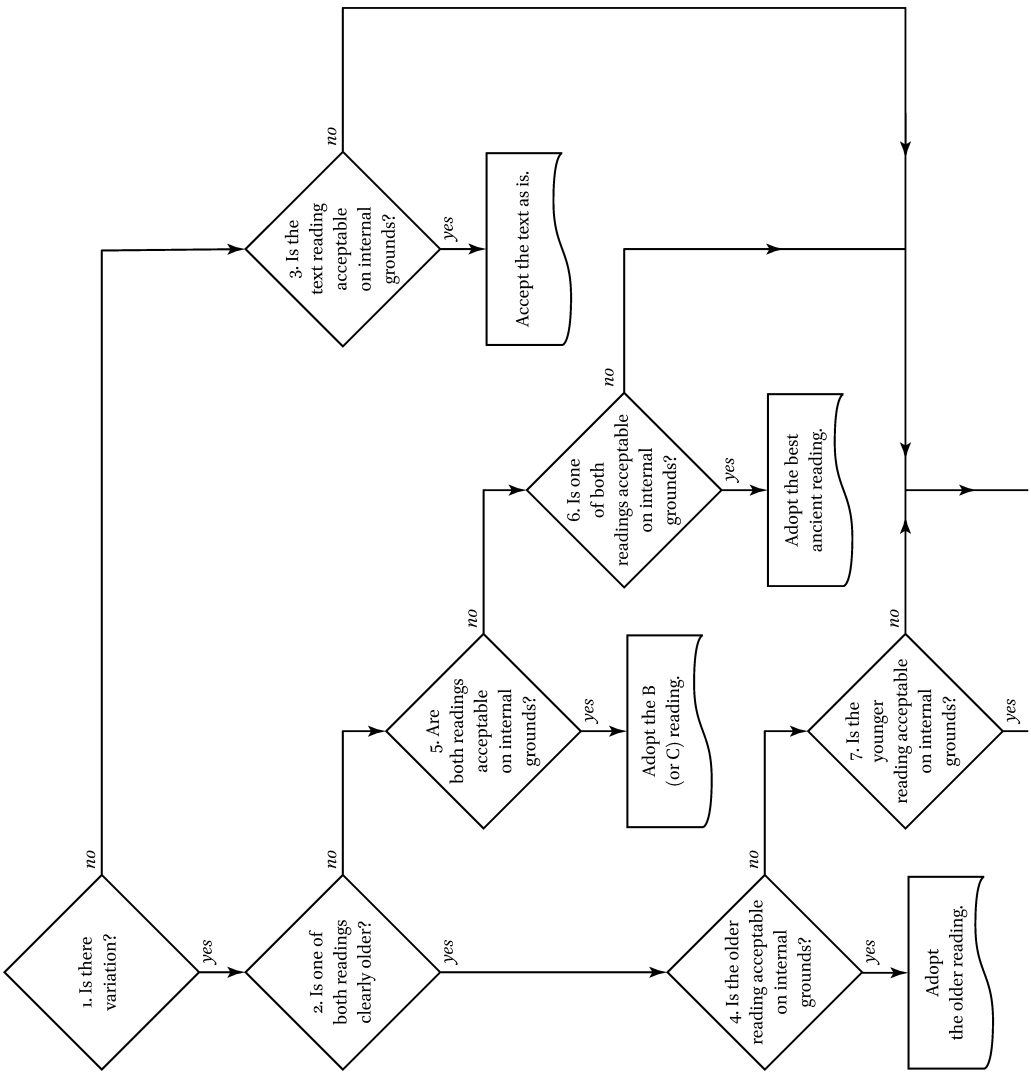
If there is variation among the manuscripts (1 again), one should, in principle, prefer the reading of the older manuscripts to that of the younger (2). If, however, the older reading is unacceptable on internal grounds (4), while the younger is not, there are two possible reconstructions: either the younger reading has been transmitted through old manuscripts that are now lost; or this reading was 'invented', that is, in the younger manuscripts we find a scribal conjecture. The more support a young Greek reading finds in the oldest versions and Fathers (8) (though one should be cautious in using the latter),[43] the higher the chance that the reading was uninterruptedly transmitted, and should therefore be accepted. If there is no such support at all, the reading should be regarded as a scribal correction. Often this correction "covers rather than removes"[44] the corruption (see 9). In those cases, the critic should try to come up with a convincing conjecture himself (again 12, through 10 and 11).

41 "zoo al niet de eigen hand des schrijvers terug vinden, dan toch eene veel juistere voorstelling van hetgeen hij gezegd heeft verkrijgen" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 12).

42 The *Amsterdam Database* (Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al. [2016]) uses the term 'editorial alternative' in such cases.

43 See Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 554. Especially Tischendorf is much too optimistic about younger Greek readings with versional support; see Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 558–559. Cf. § 3.2.4.

44 "meer bedekt, dan weggenomen" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 12).


1. Is there variation?
no
yes
2. Is one of both readings clearly older?
no
yes
3. Is the text reading acceptable on internal grounds?
no
yes
Accept the text as is.
5. Are both readings acceptable on internal grounds?
no
yes
Adopt the B (or C) reading.
6. Is one of both readings acceptable on internal grounds?
no
yes
Adopt the best ancient reading.
4. Is the older reading acceptable on internal grounds?
no
yes
Adopt the older reading.
7. Is the younger reading acceptable on internal grounds?
no
yes

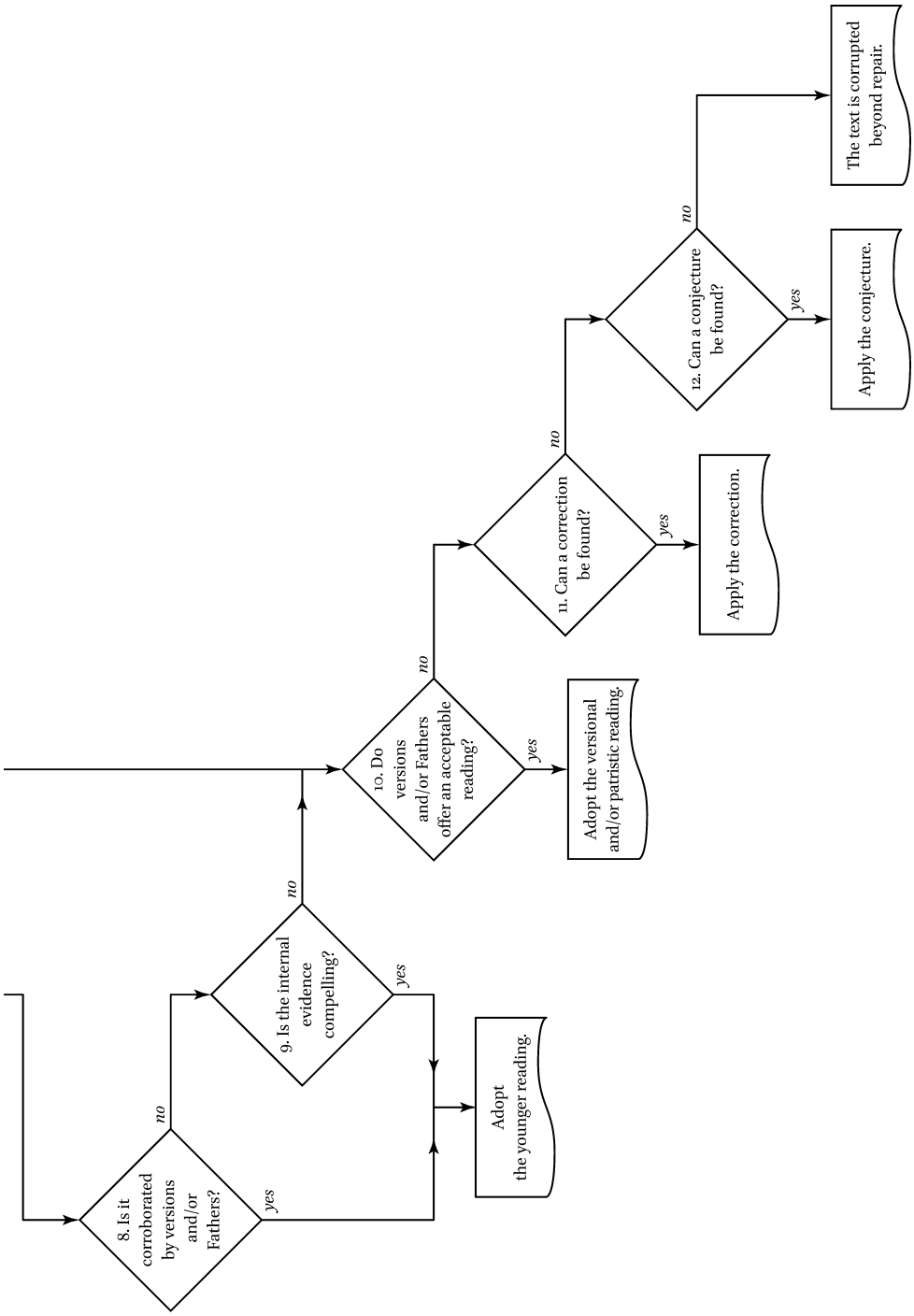


FIGURE 1 *Holwerda's New Testament text-critical method*

In still other 'variation units' there are two readings with support from the older Greek manuscripts. Here one should not bother about family relationships like Lachmann, but decide, like Tischendorf, on internal grounds (5 and 6). However, the decision may also be that both ancient readings are secondary; then emendation becomes an option again (12, through 10 and 11).

But what to do when internal criteria do no suffice for making such a decision, while neither is there reason to suspect that *both* readings are secondary (at 5)? Holwerda's answer to this question, which remains unanswered in Tischendorf's theoretical expositions, is that in such cases the relative quality of manuscripts should be taken into account. Two manuscripts stand out because significantly more often than the other older manuscripts they have the original (or, in any case, least corrupted) reading if the older manuscripts are divided: Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus; the former outranks the latter.[45]

In short, the textual critic passes through a fixed sequence of several types of text-critical judgments. In this sequence a certain type of judgment is only allowed if all 'higher' types are not applicable. Holwerda's decision tree is interesting because it makes clear how external and internal considerations relate to one other, something which, as mentioned above, is lacking in the methods of Griesbach and Tischendorf.[46]

3.4 The Role of Exegesis in Textual Criticism (Contra Tischendorf)

Holwerda resembles Tischendorf in attaching more weight to internal than to external criticism. However, Holwerda attacks Tischendorf on the specific way in which the latter conducts internal criticism: by working mechanically with a set of rules.

In presenting a list of critical rules, Tischendorf was by no means unique. In the mid-nineteenth century the idea that a critic should account for his text-critical decisions by providing his rules (or 'canons') had become dominant in the textual criticism of both the NT and classical literature.[47]

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45 About Holwerda's high regard for B and C, see § 3.5.2.

46 The first methodological exposition in which external and internal evidence are completely thought through in their relationship to one other is the 'Introduction' to their 1881 NT edition by Brooke Foss Westcott (1825–1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–1892). Cf. e.g. Epp, "The Eclectic Method" (1976), pp. 234–242; Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism" (2012), pp. 771, 785–790.

47 See Epp, "Canons" (2011), pp. 83–84.

Holwerda thinks that the role of 'rules' in textual criticism, though these are not worthless, should not be exaggerated:

> What are those *rules* of criticism? They are like the rules of rhetoric or poetry. They comprise all sorts of observations that have often been opportune for critics in the practice of their art. There is no denying the fact that such observations may occasionally speed up or ease labour. The experience gained by others or oneself is always useful and should not be recklessly neglected. When therefore those who take pleasure and delight in it collect such rules, arrange them in a certain order, in a word, draw up an *ars critica*, who would be against it? However, the idea, of judging a *critic* on the *rules* he followed, or asking him for them, when he comes up with some work, is just as out of place as wanting to know which *rhetoric* an orator has studied, or which *ars poetica* a poet has read.[48]

In other words, textual criticism is also some sort of *art*: it is learned by practice. A critic may try to draw up a list of guidelines on the basis of his experience. By doing so, he may strengthen the power of his experience, and also share his experience with other critics. But it is ridiculous to demand such rules from every critic, just as it is ridiculous to demand such a thing from, for example, orators and poets.

Holwerda does not have a problem with Tischendorf drawing up a set of rules as such. But if it is done, it should be done well. Tischendorf's list (see § 3.2.4) is rather incomplete. Where, for example, is the *lectio difficilior potior*, "so often

48 "Wat zijn eigenlijk de *regels* der critiek? Het is er eveneens mede gelegen, als met de regels der welsprekendheid en der dichtkonst. Zij bestaan in opmerkingen van onderscheidene zaken welke den critici bij de uitoefening van hunne kunst dikwijls te stade zijn gekomen. Het is niet te ontkennen, dat zulke opmerkingen nu en dan den arbeid kunnen bespoedigen of gemakkelijker maken. De ondervinding hetzij van anderen, hetzij die men zelf heeft opgedaan, is altijd nuttig en mag niet roekeloos verwaarloosd worden. Wie kan er dan ook iets op tegen hebben, wanneer zij, die er lust en opgewektheid toe gevoelen, dergelijke regels bijeenverzamelen, in zekere orde schikken, in één woord: eene *ars critica* zamenstellen? Doch het denkbeeld, om een' *criticus* naar de *regels*, die hij gevolgd is, te beoordeelen, of er hem naar te vragen, wanneer hij met eenigen arbeid voor den dag komt, is even ongepast, als wanneer men van een' redenaar weten wilde, welke *rhetorica* hij bestudeerd, of van een' dichter, welke *ars poetica* hij gelezen had" (original italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 568).

used, or rather abused"[49] by Tischendorf?[50] Even more problematic, Holwerda thinks, is the way in which Tischendorf *uses* his rules:

> As regards the way Tischendorf uses his *rules*, allow me to put forward the following objections. He does not work *according to*, or *by*, but *with* his rules. Through a certain *calculation of probability* he determines what is the true reading in his eyes, and then he derives from that, not only the entire explanation, but also the grammar. … This way of operating, if I am not mistaken, is caused by an incorrect idea about the relation between *criticism* and *interpretation*. … In the case of really difficult, very corrupt passages, one first needs to understand the writer, that is, from the context and by other means determine as well as possible what he wanted to say; subsequently knowledge of *grammar* in general, and specifically knowledge of the way a writer usually expresses himself, should either help us to determine the true reading by choosing from what the codices offer us, or make us find it by other means. Only in this way can one achieve satisfactory results.[51]

Here Holwerda broaches a subject that was later most famously explored by Joël Delobel in his article "Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Siamese Twins?" (1994). The relationship between textual criticism and exegesis is problematic. As Delobel states it:

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49 "zoo dikwijls gebruikt, of liever misbruikt" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 569).

50 Cf. also my criticism that Tischendorf's professed 'older is better' is not adopted into the list, see § 3.2.4.

51 Wat de wijze aangaat, waarop Tischendorf zijne *regels* gebruikt, zij het mij vergund de volgende bedenkingen in het midden te brengen. Hij werkt niet *naar*, of *volgens*, maar *met* zijne regels. Door zekere *kansrekening* bepaalt hij de in zijn oog ware lezing, en maakt dan de geheele uitlegging niet alleen, maar ook de grammatica daarvan afhankelijk. … De grond van zijne handelwijze is, als ik mij niet bedrieg, daarin te vinden, dat hij zich geene juiste voorstelling van het verband, dat er tusschen critiek en interpretatie bestaat, gevormd heeft. … Op regt moeijelijke, erg bedorven plaatsen, moet men eerst den schrijver begrijpen, d. i. uit den zamenhang en door andere middelen zoo juist mogelijk bepalen, wat hij heeft willen zeggen; vervolgens moet de kennis der *grammatica* in het algemeen, en in het bijzonder de kennis van de wijze, waarop de schrijver gewoon is zich uit te drukken, ons de ware lezing òf door keuze uit hetgeen ons de codd. aanbieden leeren bepalen, òf langs andere wegen doen vinden. Op deze wijze alleen kan men tot voldoende uitkomsten geraken (original italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], pp. 569–570).

> Full integration of textual criticism in exegetical research and vice versa is rather rare. One sometimes has the impression that the traditional labels "higher criticism" and "lower criticism" refer to two levels of an appartment building unconnected by an elevator or stair-case.[52]

This is exactly what Holwerda holds against Tischendorf: in his textual decisions, Tischendorf locks himself up in his limited set of rules and seems not to care about the grammatical and exegetical consequences of his text-critical decisions. Holwerda's criticism may be clarified with the help of the conceptual pair 'intrinsic probability' and 'transcriptional probability' introduced by Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–1892) and Brooke Foss Westcott (1825–1901). According to their definition, intrinsic probability is about

> weighing cautiously various elements which go to make up what is called sense, such as conformity to grammar and congruity to the purport of the rest of the sentence and of the larger context; to which may rightly be added congruity to the usual style of the author and to his matter in other passages.[53]

Transcriptional probability, by contrast,

> is not directly or properly concerned with the relative excellence of rival readings, but merely with the relative fitness of each for explaining the existence of the others.[54]

One could say that Holwerda criticises Tischendorf for overemphasizing transcriptional probability at the expense of intrinsic probability. The only rule in Tischendorf's list that concerns the latter is the fifth: a reading has to be in accord with NT Greek and with the author's style (but according to Holwerda, Tischendorf has not been very felicitous in the application of this rule).[55] It is striking that Tischendorf mentions only two out of the five elements—grammar and authorial style—that, according to Westcott and Hort, make up 'sense'. The three missing elements are all concerned with content: first, congruity to the purport of the rest of the sentence; second, congruity to the purport of the larger context; third, congruity to the author's matter in other pas-

52 Delobel, "Siamese Twins" (1994), p. 98.

53 Westcott and Hort, *NT: Introduction* ([1a]1882), p. 20.

54 Westcott and Hort, *NT: Introduction* ([1a]1882), p. 22.

55 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 580.

sages.[56] In other words, in Tischendorf's theory the *interpretation* of the variant readings in their different circles of meaning context does not play a role. This may be a main reason why Tischendorf can do without conjectural emendation (besides his willingness to print younger readings when they make better sense), which often comes into play when the reading that is preferable on all other grounds simply does not make sense.

Holwerda's emphasis on the role of exegesis in textual criticism should be seen, on the one hand, against the backgound of Leiden classical philology; the text has to make sense. On the other hand, Holwerda's profession may also play a role: as a minister, he needed to explain the NT texts in his sermons. For a professional scholar like Tischendorf it was easier to live with awkward sentences than it was for Holwerda.[57]

3.5 Best Manuscripts

3.5.1 *Bekker's Short Cut and the Luxury Problem of New Testament Manuscripts*

A remarkable feature of Holwerda's text-critical method is his taking into account the relative quality of manuscripts in cases where internal criticism does not suffice to establish the original reading. Probably somewhere around 1850 Holwerda undertook a "diplomatic" investigation into the NT text.[58] Ever since Bengel, in NT textual criticism a 'diplomatic' investigation was an attempt to classify the manuscripts. However, Holwerda did not pursue this 'classical' line of NT manuscripts research.

Holwerda's decision not to classify manuscripts can be understood against the background of the different schools in classical philology in the nineteenth century. In Germany, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, classical scholars such as Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) were inspired by NT textual criticism and started to develop ideas for a 'genealogical' method in classical philology. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century this development reached fruition in the work of such scholars as Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804–1886) and, of course, Karl Lachmann. In 'Lachmannian stemmatics' a critic starts with an extensive *recensio*, in which all manuscripts are brought together

56 Westcott and Hort, *NT: Introduction* ([1a]1882), p. 20.

57 Cf. Holwerda speaking about the 'torment' ("kwelling") of presiding over Bible groups as a young minister in Assen (*Bijdragen* [1855], p, 70 n. 1).

58 "diplomatisch" (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 75).

in one stemma; manuscripts that are not independent witnesses to the lost 'archetype' can be discarded. Only then does internal criticism start: *examinatio* of the variant readings and, eventually, *emendatio*.[59]

However, not everyone was won over to this new method. After all, in the stemmatic method classicists have to work as 'transmission historians', spending a lot of time performing research that was only indirectly related to the texts themselves. In Germany Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871) preferred to spend his time hunting ancient manuscripts and immediately publishing new editions largely based on these 'codices optimi antiquissimique'—'best and most ancient manuscripts'.[60] Bekker's approach represents a simplification of the stemmatic method as regards *recensio*: instead of cautiously relating all manuscripts to one other, not necessarily preferring a manuscript because it is old nor rejecting one because it is young, Bekker works from the common sense assumption 'oldest is best'.[61]

Precisely this 'Bekkerian short cut' seems to have been adopted in the Leiden Radical School. While Bekker had no time for stemmata because of his zeal to produce as many editions as possible, the Leiden critics had no time for it because they spend all their time studying the language and emending corrupt passages. They realised they were privileged to live in the nineteenth century and to have at their dispoal many ancient manuscripts not yet available to their admired eighteenth-century predecessors. But in the way they used them they did not go further than what was already recognised by Poliziano (1454–1494), namely that one should not emend the heavily corrupted Renaissance manuscripts but the purer old manuscripts.[62] Though Holwerda does not speak out expressly on the Josephus manuscripts in his 1847 *Specimen*, his constant use in this work of the term 'optimi codd.', sometimes alternated with 'optimi antiquissimique codd.', suggests that his Josephus criticism was performed along similar lines.

Still, in the case of the New Testament, Holwerda does not make light work of the diplomatic part of his investigations. He does not simply take the oldest manuscripts to be the best as well. Such a simple 'codex optimus' or 'codices optimes' approach does not in fact even work for the New Testament. The manuscript situation in the New Testament is, and already was in the mid-nineteenth century, rather different from the manuscript situation of the aver-

59 See e.g. Tarrant, "Classical Latin Literature" (1995), p. 106.

60 See e.g. Timpanaro, *Entstehung* (1971), pp. 26–27.

61 See e.g. Hall, *Companion* (1913), p. 124; Timpanaro, *Entstehung* (1971), pp. 27–28.

62 See e.g. Timpanaro, *Entstehung* (1971), pp. 4–5.

age classical text. In the case of a classical text, if there is such a thing as an 'old manuscript' or a few 'old manuscripts', such manuscripts mostly date from the ninth or tenth century.[63] However, Tischendorf designated all NT manuscripts from the tenth century onwards as 'younger', whereas the group of "oldest manuscripts" from the ninth century or older is extremely large. Especially the Gospels are abundantly attested: in his second edition (1849) Tischendorf could, next to the four very old codices A, B, C and D(05), make use of 23 Gospel manuscripts ranging from the fifth to the ninth centuries (the disclaimer being that most of the manuscripts ranging from the fifth to the seventh centuries are very fragmentary).

If there are so many 'old manuscripts', the label 'old' becomes a less helpful criterion in textual decisions. Not only in the Gospels, but in the entire New Testament, there are continually two or even more competing 'old readings'. Tischendorf's theoretical solution for this luxury problem was to apply the principle 'older is better' also *within* the group of 'oldest manuscripts': there are many old NT manuscripts, but some are older than others, and that should be taken into account in textual decisions.

Holwerda praised Tischendorf for this adjustment,[64] but he himself wanted to see whether one could go further in "determining the relative worth of the codices."[65] Were there some old manuscripts that were significantly better than other old manuscripts? Tischendorf had not completely ignored this question. After Griesbach had stated that the two oldest text types were more reliable than the youngest one, Tischendorf had moved one step further by putting the Alexandrian text above the Western text. Since it had been known for a long time that some manuscripts represent their text type better than others,[66] Tischendorf's preference for the Alexandrian text meant *de facto* that he preferred those manuscripts that best represent the Alexandrian text type. In his 1841 critical edition Tischendorf does not allude to the value of individual manuscripts. However, in the *prolegomena* of his 1843 edition of the NT portion of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, Tischendorf quotes Griesbach, who had designated Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus as "rightfully and deservedly leading the whole Alexandrian flock."[67] Since the Alexandrian class is more reliable than

63 See Tarrant, "Classical Latin Literature" (1995), p. 99; cf. Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (^{3}1991), pp. 58–65; cf. also Hall, *Companion* (1913), pp. 199–285.

64 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 558.

65 "de betrekkelijke waarde der codd. … bepalen" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 559).

66 See e.g. Griesbach, *NTG 1* (^{2}1796), p. lxxviii.

67 "totius alexandrini gregis dux jure meritoque suo" (Griesbach, *Symbolae criticae 1* [1785], p. xxvii).

the other classes, Tischendorf argues, C should be regarded as the most excellent NT manuscript, "if perhaps you make an exception for Codex Vaticanus."[68]

The disclaimer involving Codex Vaticanus is interesting: Tischendorf realises that Griesbach made his claim concerning Ephraemi in 1785, that is, before Birch started to publish, in 1788, his collation of Codex Vaticanus. Later Griesbach would designate Codex Vaticanus as Alexandrian (with the first part of Matthew being Western).[69] To my knowledge, however, he never reconsidered the question which manuscript most purely represents the Alexandrian family. Tischendorf had followed Griesbach in designating B as Alexandrian, but apparently he too had not got round to comparing Ephraemi and Vaticanus.[70]

In fact, in his early years the question which manuscript (or manuscripts) was most reliable did not really seem to occupy him. His praise of Ephraemi is meant to underscore the importance of his edition of this manuscript, rather than to make an important critical point. In none of the *prolegomena* to his critical editions (up to 1859) does Tischendorf go into the relative quality of individual manuscripts. Admittedly, he does state that the Alexandrian family is more reliable than the Western one, but this is only one remark in a lengthy introduction. As described in § 3.2.4, the relative quality of families does not play a role in his critical principles; it is merely a conclusion "arrived at from data previously ascertained."[71]

3.5.2 *Holwerda's 'Diplomatic' Investigation*

For Holwerda Tischendorf's remark that the Alexandrian text was better than the Western one was not what he was looking for (while he may well have been unaware of Tischendorf's 1843 quotation of Griesbach concerning C as the most purely Alexandrian manuscript). As a Leiden critic, Holwerda disliked such a thing as putting manuscripts into a scheme; besides, had not Tischendorf himself cast doubt on the practicability of a manuscript classification for the New Testament?[72] Holwerda decided to see for himself. He investigated many variation units where multiple old readings are extant and came to view Codex Vaticanus as the most reliable. In *Betrekking* (1853) he writes:

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68 "si forte a codice Vaticano discesseris" (Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus* [1843], p. 21).

69 See Griesbach, *NTG 1* (²1796), p. lxxxi, and *NTG 2* (²1806), p. viii.

70 In his review of Tischendorf's first edition, Wilhelm Friedrich Rinck contends that Tischendorf puts B "über alle andere." See Rinck, review of Tischendorf, *NTG* (1842), p. 539.

71 Tregelles, *Account* (1854), p. 128.

72 Referred to by Holwerda in *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 10–11 n. 1.

> The few examples I have already collected of passages where only B has kept the true reading, or vestiges of it,[73] show convincingly, if I do not deceive myself, that too little authority to this manuscript has been assigned thus far. I even believe that when one has to choose between two readings of equal internal value, one can always confidently consider the B reading to be the most probable one. The number of passages to which this applies is rather considerable.[74]

This is one of the first plain acclamations of the superiority of a NT manuscript; interestingly, it is in accord with today's consensus.[75]

It is important to realise that Codex Vaticanus had not been published yet in the early 1850s. Since it was very difficult for scholars to get access to Codex Vaticanus,[76] one had to work with three collations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: (1) a very imperfect one by Bartolocci from 1669,[77] a copy of which was in the Paris Royal Library; (2) a much better one (though often second-hand corrections are considered first hand readings) by an Italian named Mico, for Bentley, from about 1720, preserved amongst Bentley's papers in Cambridge; and (3) one executed in haste by the Danish philologist Andreas Birch from the early 1780s (without Luke and John), the results of which he had revealed in the different NT editions he published from 1788 to 1801.[78]

For his 1849 NT edition Tischendorf had collated all three collations, and indicated in the apparatus the differences between these three collations. All

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73 About the importance of B having 'vestiges' of the original, see main text below.

74 "De weinige voorbeelden, die ik reeds heb bijgebragt, van plaatsen, waar B alleen óf de ware lezing, óf de sporen er van bewaard heeft, doen, als ik mij niet bedrieg, overtuigend zien, dat men aan dat Ms. tot nog toe te weinig gezag heeft toegekend. Ik geloof zelfs, dat men overal, waar tusschen twee lezingen van gelijke innerlijke waarde eene keuze moet worden gedaan, gerustelijk die van B voor de meest waarschijnlijke houden kan. Het getal plaatsen, waar deze opmerking van toepassing is, is vrij aanzienlijk" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 113).

75 Even earlier than Holwerda, Granville Penn spoke about the "general superiority" of B (*Annotations* [1837], p. 12), making this manuscript the basis of his 1836 revision of the KJV (*New Covenant* [1836]). About Penn's work on the New Testament, see a forthcoming publication by Jan Krans and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte.

76 Tischendorf and Tregelles, the two greatest manuscript hunters of their generation, had only been allowed to check some peculiar readings in the 1840s; see e.g. Epp, "Entrance" (2015), p. 65.

77 Bartolocci is sometimes referred to with his Benedictine name, Giulio di Santa Anastasia.

78 See Tregelles, "Tregelles" (1856), pp. 161–162.

in all, NT scholars had reasonably good access to the text of Codex Vaticanus in the early 1850s; contradictions between Mico and Birch could be settled by the testimony of Bartolocci.[79] Nevertheless, in chapter 4 there will be some examples of Holwerda having incorrect information concerning the B reading (and later in this section there are examples of de Wette casting doubt on the quality of B on the basis of incorrect information).[80]

Codex Vaticanus had been dated to the middle of the fourth century by Johann Leonhard Hug,[81] which dating was generally accepted by the middle of the nineteenth century (as it is today).[82] Therefore Vaticanus was the oldest NT

79 Cf. Tregelles, "Tregelles" (1856), p. 162.

80 In 1857 a very poor edition of the entire Codex Vaticanus appeared, which had been prepared by cardinal Mai, but was only published after his death (see for a discussion of the many errors in this edition e.g. Scrivener, *Introduction 1* [^{4}1894], pp. 112–113). In the following years several one-volume octavo editions appeared based on Mai's expensive five volumes quarto edition (see e.g. Scrivener, *Introduction 1* [^{4}1894], pp. 113–114). One of these editions was prepared by Abraham Kuenen, the Leiden OT professor who also taught NT textual criticism, and Cobet (Kuenen and Cobet, *Novum Testamentum* [1860]). Cobet's involvement in this project is surprising against the background of Geel's already cited remark in a letter to Holwerda: "seemingly, he does not like to occupy himself with N.T. Greek, and actually does not know what to do with it—in fact he detests it" ("het schijnt dat hij zich met de N.F. graeciteit liefst niet bemoeit, en er eigenlijk niet mee te regt kan—eigenlijk er een ergen hekel aan heeft"; Geel, letter to Holwerda, 25 June 1857, f. 1^{r}). For a very critical discussion of the Kuenen and Cobet edition, see Henk Jan de Jonge, who calls the edition "a real monstrosity" ("een waar monstrum"; "Kuenen en Cobet" [1992], p. 22): Kuenen and Cobet often substitute second hand for first hand readings if the corrections are in line with classical Greek. They also feel free to remove what they consider copying errors in the Vatican manuscript, and to normalise the spelling throughout—which, as de Jonge shows, boils down to imposing classical spelling on a first century vulgar Hellenistic Greek text (de Jonge, "Kuenen en Cobet" [1992], pp. 20–21). In other words, the edition of Kuenen and Cobet stands midway between a critical edition and a manuscript edition. Moreover, like all Vatican editions that appeared around 1860, it was not based on first-hand examination of the Vatican manuscript, but on Mai's faulty edition. The scholarly thirst for a pure edition of B was only quenched when Tischendorf was able to examine the manuscript for fourteen days in 1866, which led to the first reliable edition of the NT portion of Codex Vaticanus in 1867 (Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* [1867]). It should be mentioned in closing that Cobet's dealings with Codex Vaticanus led him to defend a few conjectures and to make a few ones himself as well; see Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* (2016).

81 Hug, *De antiquitate Codicis Vaticani* (1810).

82 Rinck challenged the common dating of B to the fourth century, and contended that Vaticanus belongs to the seventh century; see Rinck, review of Tischendorf, *NTG* (1842), pp. 547–552.

manuscript, followed by Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, which Tischendorf dated before the middle of the fifth century. Undoubtedly, this external information influenced Holwerda in his internally oriented diplomatic research, in any case as a confirmation afterwards.

As can be expected from him, Holwerda's appraisal of Vaticanus has a polemical element: "… too little authority has been assigned to this manuscript thus far." In the remainder of his statement concerning B Holwerda is more specific:

> Especially Tischendorf, because of his *third* rule, which, like all *rules*, is true in itself, but to which there are many, very many exceptions, has misjudged many a good reading of B.[83]

Tischendorf's third rule is that the reading diverging more from a parallel passage is to be preferred to the reading diverging less. In his review of Tischendorf's *Septima* Holwerda makes clear what he thinks goes wrong in Tischendorf's application of this rule. For Tischendorf 'parallel passages' ('loci gemini') is a rather broad concept: it also includes the repetition of a word or expression within the same book. Even in such cases, Tischendorf is inclined to print the variant reading that deviates from rather than corresponds to its 'parallel'.[84] According to Holwerda, this is often at the expense of B readings that he thinks are authentic.[85]

It is not for nothing that Holwerda does not convey his high regard for Vaticanus in the introduction of *Betrekking*, but instead has tucked it away in the middle of a specific text-critical discussion. Holwerda realises that if he really wants to state his viewpoint emphatically, he needs to defend it at length. This, he writes, does not fall within the scope of *Betrekking*; but he promises to return to the matter later.[86]

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83 "Tischendorf inzonderheid, heeft om zijn' *derden* regel, die gelijk alle *regels* op zich zelf waar is, doch waarop vele, zeer vele uitzonderingen zijn, menige goede lezing van B miskend" (original italics; Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 113). Cf. Tregelles' criticism and Reuss' figures in § 3.2.4.

84 See Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 578–579.

85 In *Bijdragen* (1855), Holwerda points out that Tischendorf's first rule (readings attested by a single manuscript are suspicious; also suspicous are readings belonging to one class of manuscripts, if they seem to originate in a learned revision) is disadvantageous for Vaticanus as well (pp. 10–11 n. 1).

86 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 113.

In *Bijdragen* (1855) Holwerda fulfills his promise: he argues extensively for what he stated only briefly in *Betrekking*. Surprisingly, now Holwerda does not defend the superiority of only B, but of B *and C*. Apparently, while working his way through the examples that would show that B is the best manuscript, he discovered that Ephraemi Rescriptus sided with Vaticanus so often that authority could be awarded to both these manuscripts. Again, the fact that Ephraemi was regarded as the second oldest manuscript (Codex Bezae was generally dated to the sixth century,[87] Codex Sinaiticus was published only in 1862) must have influenced Holwerda's evaluation: Vaticanus and Ephraemi as the two best manuscripts was the 'desired result'.

Holwerda uses more than thirty pages to demonstrate the superiority of B and C.[88] He asserts that his viewpoint is based on a close investigation of more than two hundred 'variation units'.[89] Unfortunately, he only presents thirteen of them, with very extensive argumentation.[90] It would have been more convincing had Holwerda shared more observations that were more briefly annotated. What is the statistical value of only thirteeen passages on the whole of the New Testament (especially since the arbitrariness of the sample is not guaranteed)? This is typical of Holwerda: he has a tendency to enlarge on something in too much detail.[91]

The sample appears interesting when put in historical perspective. Of the twelve instances where Holwerda defends the B reading (in the thirteenth example B is lacunose), Tischendorf prints the B reading only twice in his sec-

87 Cf. e.g. Ti², p. lx; also Tregelles, "Introduction" (1856), p. 171. Codex Alexandrinus was generally dated to the second half of the fifth century (e.g. Ti², p. lvii).

88 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 9–21, 24–45.

89 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 32. Later he says that he could confidently have mentioned the number 'three hundred', but that he wanted to avoid the semblance of exaggeration (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 75).

90 Holwerda discusses as examples of both B and C supporting the original reading: John 18:34/6–8 (pp. 9–16), Acts 10:18/6 (pp. 16–18), Acts 14:21/2 (pp. 18–19), Eph 3:16/4 (pp. 25–26), John 15:16/68 (pp. 26–27), 1 Cor 15:44/22–26 (pp. 34–38); as examples of B supporting the original reading while C is lacunose: 1 Cor 15:24/10 (p. 21), Eph 1:17/26 (pp. 25–26), Luke 8:17/22–28 (pp. 42–45), Luke 18:14/20–22 (p. 45); of C supporting the original reading while B is lacunose: 2 Tim 2:7/8 (p. 24); of B supporting the original reading over against C: 1 Cor 11:22/50 (pp. 19–20), Matt 11:16/14–17/2 (pp. 38–42).

91 A striking example is Holwerda's reflection on the Dutch word 'akribie' (accuracy; see "Woord" [1856], p. 18), which, however interesting from a linguistic viewpoint, is completely irrelevant in its context, namely an exegetical discussion with Peerlkamp. In a response, Peerlkamp mentions several other elements in Holwerda's article he thinks are beside the point (Peerlkamp, "Repliek [2]" [1856], p. 34).

ond edition.[92] By contrast, Westcott & Hort follow B in Holwerda's sample ten times, Tregelles (who also wanted Tischendorf to be more faithful to the most ancient manuscripts, see § 3.2.4) and NA[28] nine times. So as far as Holwerda's small selection of examples is concerned, history has proven Holwerda right in his criticism of Tischendorf that the latter should have followed B more often.[93]

Holwerda also responds to de Wette, who, in his famous *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung* seems to defend an 'eclectic' position, warning his readers against assuming too quickly that the oldest manuscripts are also the most reliable ones: "Die jüngern können wohl auch den ursprünglichen Text erhalten haben, und stellen ihn wirklich in nicht wenigen Stellen dar."[94] He then points out three passages where the oldest manuscripts are "entschiedend falsch." Holwerda admits that the Alexandrian text of Matt 27:49 contains a harmonising addition, taken from John 19:34. "But a few such additions do not disprove the reliability of the manuscript in which they are found."[95] The other two examples brought forward by de Wette are even less relevant: what is the problem of the oldest manuscripts having the spelling mistakes ζητεῖτε for ζητεῖται in 1Cor 4:2 and φορέσωμεν for φορέσομεν in 1Cor 15:49? In fact, there is a nice twist here, something Holwerda could not know yet: of all the most ancient manuscripts, only B eventually turned out to have the right spelling in both cases.

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92 In his eighth edition (1869–1872), Tischendorf follows B in four more 'variation units' of Holwerda's sample. In three of these four passages this seems to be caused by the fact that Codex Vaticanus is joined by Codex Sinaiticus. This manuscript is largely responsible for the 3369 instances where Tischendorf changed the text of his eighth edition as compared to his seventh edition (1859); see Scrivener, *Introduction* ([2]1874), p. 470.

93 This also holds for the eleven 'variation units' where Holwerda defends the B reading in his review of Tischendorf's *Septima*, which has a different reading in all eleven cases (Holwerda, "Tischendorf", p. 571 [Matt 25:17/10], p. 574 [John 7:31/20], p. 577 [1Cor 11:3/2], p. 577 [Matt 2:13/14–18], pp. 578–579 [Matt 24:38/2], pp. 580–581 [Matt 5:22/23], pp. 581–582 [Matt 7:9/2–10/16], p. 582 [Matt 8:1/2–20], p. 586 [Luke 8:27/30–34], pp. 586–587 [Luke 10:35/10–12], p. 590 [Acts 10:30/12]). Tregelles agrees with Holwerda nine times, Westcott & Hort and the Modern Critical Text ten times. In his *Octava* Tischendorf follows B in nine out of the eleven cases; in all those cases ℵ agrees with B. The only two cases where Tischendorf still does not print the B reading, ℵ does not agree with B. Further research on the way 19th (and 20th) century textual critics 'ranked' the major uncial manuscripts would be a welcome addition to the field (cf. Appendix 2).

94 De Wette, *Einleitung NT* ([4]1842), p. 58.

95 "Maar enkele dergelijke bijvoegselen bewijzen niets tegen de deugdelijkheid van het Ms., waarin zij gevonden worden" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 32).

In his 1860 review of Tischendorf's seventh edition, Holwerda offers a final nuance: B and C are the best NT manuscripts, but C is outranked by B. In fact, Holwerda thus returns to his initial claim in *Betrekking*.

3.5.3 *Holwerda's Mirror Image: Tregelles*

Holwerda's 1853 canon "whenever one has to choose between two readings of equal internal value, one can always confidently consider the B reading to be the most probable one" (modified in 1855, affirmed in 1860) is highly interesting from a historical perspective. However, I have not found any reference to Holwerda in relation to the scholarly reception history of the B text. Neither have I found anything in relation to another textual critic who simultaneously with and independently of Holwerda suggested that Codex Vaticanus should be ranked first, namely Tregelles.[96] In 1856 Tregelles wrote about Vaticanus:

> In many respects, there is no manuscript of equal value in criticism; … There are passages not a few in which it stands almost alone, as far as manuscript authorities are concerned, although confirmed by very many versions, and by express early citations. These considerations stamp it with that value which leads those who understand how to estimate such subjects aright to regard its testimony as of much importance (to say the least), in cases altogether doubtful, and when it is not so specially corroborated.[97]

Tregelles' reasoning is similar to that of Holwerda: because B proves reliable in many cases, its reading should be taken very seriously in uncertain cases.

Apparently, the quest for the best NT manuscripts was 'in the air' in the 1850s. Above, I pointed out two factors that probably led Holwerda to compare the oldest NT manuscripts with each other: first, Leiden's preference for Bekker's short cut to Lachmannian stemmatics; second, the luxury problem of NT

96 For example, in his otherwise valuable essay "The Codex Vaticanus: Its History and Significance" James Neville Birdsal contends that only when Codex Sinaiticus appeared on the stage did scholars start to recognise the outstanding quality of Codex Vaticanus (Birdsall, "Vaticanus" [2003], p. 35; see also Appendix 2 to the present study). A scholar who even earlier than Holwerda and Tregelles recognised the superiority of Codex Vaticanus was Granville Penn (1761–1844); cf. n. 75 in this chapter.

97 Tregelles, "Introduction" (1856), pp. 163–164.

manuscripts. The latter problem Tregelles had to deal with as well of course, but, as a self-taught biblical scholar, he seems not to have occupied himself with classical philology at all. His search for best manuscripts is motivated by a trend in *NT textual criticism*, namely to problematise the concept of manuscript classifications. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Griesbach's attempt to construct the NT text as mechanically as possible, carried to the extreme by Lachmann, was generally considered a dead end. The only division that seemed certain was that between the oldest manuscripts and the younger ones. Tischendorf hoped that his five largely internal rules would be enough to find the original text among the wealth of ancient manuscripts. But this method seems to have been too subjective for Tregelles, who is, in his own way, a typically nineteenth-century 'objective' scholar, stressing the necessity of 'evidence', which for him is all the more important since the object of investigation is Holy Scripture. Therefore Tregelles adopted a mainly external approach, but entirely different from Lachmann's. Instead of working with manuscript families, the key to his method became the *age of a reading*, which can be deduced from the age of manuscripts, versions and Fathers supporting that reading. The investigation in which manuscripts are evaluated according to the number of ancient readings was labelled by Tregelles 'comparative criticism' (because it compares manuscript readings to versional and patristic readings). Making an exception for Codex Bezae, which is very strong according to comparative criticism but the peculiar readings of which do not have any claim to originality, Tregelles held the critical quality of a manuscript to be determined by the number of ancient readings.[98] The best manuscript was Codex Vaticanus, the second best, again as in Holwerda, Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus ("one of the most valuable codices which we possess, ranking probably, on the whole, next to the Codex Vaticanus").[99]

In other words, Holwerda's manuscript investigation was internally oriented, Tregelles' manuscript investigation was externally oriented (with an internal correction regarding D05). However different the process, the outcome is identical. Apparently, B has got everything: it is older than all other manuscripts,

98 Cf. Epp's criticism of Westcott and Hort. Epp shows that Westcott and Hort's rejection of the text of Codex Bezae boils down to letting internal considerations prevail over external ones, which contradicts the synergism of external and internal evidence they claimed their method was built on ("The Eclectic Method" [1976], pp. 241–242).

99 Tregelles, "Introduction" (1856), p. 169. From a modern perspective, Holwerda's and Tregelles' high regard for Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus may be surprising. However, today's *communis opinio* about C as a generally unreliable manuscript is based on a misjudgment of this manuscript by Westcott and Hort; see further Appendix 2 in this book.

its text is strongly supported by early versions and Fathers and also seems to agree, on internal grounds, more with the original text than the text of all other ancient codices.

Besides the external-internal divide, there is another important difference between Tregelles and Holwerda as regards their appreciation of Codex Vaticanus. Whereas for Tregelles the value of this manuscript can only be expressed in terms of its high percentage of original readings, for Holwerda the superiority of a B reading to the other readings does not necessarily mean he regards this reading as original. To quote him again: "passages where only B has kept the true reading, *or vestiges of it*" (my italics).[100] It is not for nothing that Holwerda somewhere replaces the adjective 'best' (codices) by 'least bad'.[101] In other words, B often provides us with a corrupt reading over against an improvement in most other manuscripts. If we only had these later manuscripts with their smooth text, we would never have suspected anything was wrong. But now that we have ancient manuscripts such as C, but especially B, which have a reading that cannot be right, we are able to restore the original text by conjecture.

A good example is Holwerda's proposal for 2 Pet 3:10. Here the Textus Receptus offers an alternative to the awkward and then singular B reading εὑρεθήσεται ("will be found"), namely κατακαήσεται ("will be burned up"). Though κατακαήσεται fits the literary context perfectly, it cannot be regarded as an ancestor of εὑρεθήσεται (it is transcriptionally improbable). Therefore Holwerda comes up with a reading that is semantically cognate to κατακαήσεται, but can also explain the origin of εὑρεθήσεται: οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται, which eventually also became the Modern Critical Text (see further § 4.3.7).

Holwerda's conjectural-critical approach to B is in line with what Lachmann had already expressed in 1830 (see § 3.2.3): moving from the polished Textus Receptus to the most ancient manuscripts increases the need for conjectural emendation. In the above quotation Holwerda specifies Lachmann's idea by arguing that, among those most ancient manuscripts, B stands out as having the most 'unpolished' text. In his publications Holwerda makes many conjectures on B readings with no or weak support from the other manuscripts.

100 "plaatsen, waar B alleen óf de ware lezing, óf de sporen er van bewaard heeft" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 113).

101 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 8: "welke *de beste*, of anders *de minst slechte* zijn" (original italics).

Tregelles, by contrast, thinks that, now that the NT manuscript base has become so strong, and because the writings concerned are Holy Scripture, conjectures are altogether wrong. Whereas the Old Testament is in need of conjectures sometimes,

> in the New Testament we are in very different circumstances, for we are able to have recourse to documents which carry us so much nearer to the time of the writers, that there was not the same opportunity for injuries of the same kind to have been received which we do find in the Old Testament. … As a mere question of probabilities, it is very unlikely that the genuine reading of the authors has been lost from every one of the ancient copies; and when reverence for Scripture is taken into account, it may show us the wisdom of abstaining from the introduction of anything which does not rest on *evidence*.[102]

In another place Tregelles allows for the possibility that the best variant reading in fact results from corruption. But even in such cases one is to abstain from conjectural emendation. Here Tregelles introduces a curious aesthetic argument that can be applied to conjectural emendation in general:

> Better by far is it to preserve an ancient work of art which bears the marks of the injuries of time, than to submit it to the clumsy hands of some mere workman who would wish to mend it. If somewhat defaced, it might still bear testimony to the genius of the artist whose mind conceived it, and whose hand wrought it; but, if unskilfully repaired, the original design must of necessity be yet more defaced and obscured; so that a true judgment could scarcely be formed of its original excellence.[103]

2 Pet 3:10/48–50 nicely illustrates the difference between Tregelles and Holwerda. While Holwerda emends this passage, Tregelles is one of the first scholars to print the singular B reading εὑρεθήσεται.

What was a singular reading in Holwerda's day is often not a singular reading today anymore. However, Holwerda's special use of B in his conjectural criticism can be investigated by counting how many of his conjectures are based on a B reading that is not identical to the Modern Critical Text. This would express

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102 Tregelles, "Introduction" (1856), p. 150; cf. *Account* (1854), p. 111.

103 Tregelles, *Account* (1854), p. 196. For his rejection of specific proposals, see Tregelles, *Account* (1854), pp. 106–108 and 197–201.

quantitatively how important Vaticanus is in Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism. It appears that in no fewer than 17 out of 93 (full) conjectures Holwerda takes his cue from a B reading that is deemed secondary according to the Modern Critical Text.[104] See for a few striking examples the end of § 4.3.2.5.

3.6 Conjectural Emendation

3.6.1 *Argumentation in* Betrekking

Holwerda was aware of the fact that the application of conjectural emendation to the NT text was controversial (see § 2.12.3). Therefore, in the introduction to his first NT publication, *Betrekking*, he alloted several pages to justifying this practice. The following main points can be discerned:

1. The existing variant readings in NT manuscripts make clear that everything that happened to ancient profane writers also happened to the New Testament. If classical scholars are allowed to emend unexplicable passages in profane writings, why are NT scholars not allowed to do the same, all the more since they are compelled to comment on every single word.[105]
2. Origen already lamented that the manuscripts differed so much due to sloppy copying and reckless correcting; some correctors were even led by their own dogmatic viewpoints to add and omit.[106] Holwerda points out

104 In fact, there is one more conjecture where Holwerda follows the B reading, namely his conjecture on Luke 3:19. However, in this case Holwerda was misinformed; B is actually in accord with the other ancient manuscripts here.

105 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 9, 13–14.

106 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 9–10. In the main text Origen's remark is described as interpreted by Holwerda. Ironically, however, there is a problem with the transmitted Greek text here. The passage concerned is from Origen's Matthew commentary; it functions as a defence of his conjecture on Matt 19:19 [cj10000] (tucked away in his discussion of Matt 15:14). The Greek text of Origen's remark misses a few words, which are inserted from the Latin in the current critical edition by Klostermann and Benz (at the instigation of Paul Koetschau). Their text reads as follows, the inserted words being bracketed: νυνὶ δὲ δῆλον ὅτι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς [εἴτε ἀπὸ ἀμελούντων] τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει [ἢ] προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων (Klostermann and Benz, *Origenes Matthäuserklärung I* [1937], p. 387 l. 27–p. 388 l. 7). Holwerda already comments that the Greek text is corrupt, but he does not emend it from the Latin. Therefore, in his interpretation, he ends up with *three* groups of 'corruptors': sloppy scribes (εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων); reckless correctors (εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορ-

that Origen's complaint is about a century older than the oldest known NT manuscript (referring to Codex Vaticanus); therefore our text is probably more corrupt than his.[107]

3. The New Testament was more read and copied than other ancient writings; as a result, its text became more corrupt than the text of an average ancient work. As Holwerda puts it: "It is an undeniable fact that precisely those authors have been best preserved who were most neglected in the Middle Ages."[108]

Holwerda also responds to some objections against the application of conjectural emendation to the NT text:

1. *In the first centuries the NT text was copied with special care.* Holwerda thinks Origen's complaint makes clear that such a special care was, in any case, not common.[109]
2. *Valckenaer rejected conjectural emendation on the NT text.* Holwerda refers to Valckenaer's "well-known oration about this subject,"[110] which is his rectorial address at Franeker University in 1745. Holwerda follows the general opinion of his day that Valckenaer, in that oration, declared himself against the application of conjectural emendation to the New Testament. Yet this is a complete mystery to him. How can this "truly great man,"[111] who, as a matter of fact, made many NT conjectures himself, have said

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θώσεως τῶν γραφομένων); and 'dogmatic' correctors (εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων). According to the Latin and Klostermann and Benz' text, however, there are *four* groups (or activities), Holwerda's group of 'reckless correctors' in fact being two groups: reckless copyists (εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς) and neglegent correctors ([εἴτε ἀπὸ ἀμελούντων] τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων).

Holwerda's interpretation of τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα as referring to dogmatically inspired changes is questionable; τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα simply means "the things that seemed good to them", that is, "as they pleased". Perhaps Holwerda's interpretation is prompted by the confusion of groups: in Holwerda's division, there already is a group of "reckless correctors"; for him, the addition of a group of correctors who changed the text "as they pleased" is meaningless.

107 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 10–11.

108 "Het is eene onloochenbare daadzaak, dat juist die schrijvers het beste zijn bewaard gebleven, waar men zich in de middeleeuwen het minste om bekommerde" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 11; cf. *Bijdragen* [1855], pp. 7–8).

109 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 10.

110 "zijne bekende redevoering over dit onderwerp" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 14).

111 "dien waarlijk grooten man" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 14).

such a thing? Holwerda can only sigh: "This is definitely not his best work. I almost know for sure that, were he still alive, he would not approve of it anymore."[112]

3. *The actual NT conjectures of the past ages do not argue in defence of the method.* Holwerda acknowledges that the great majority of the old NT conjectures are, indeed, useless, although some of them may have been neglected wrongfully. However, "the scholars of old did lack the more correct knowledge of the codices we possess today."[113] Of course future discoveries may also render needless some of the conjectures proposed by Holwerda in *Betrekking*.[114] But such considerations should not prevent

112 "zij is zeker zijn beste werk niet. Haast zoude ik er voor durven instaan, dat hij zelf, indien hij nog leefde, haar niet meer zoude goedkeuren" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 14). In fact, as has been sufficiently demonstrated by several later authors, the young Valckenaer did not at all declare himself against NT conjectural emendation in the oration that was initially published in 1745 under the title *Oratio de sacra Novi Foederis critice, a literatoribus, quos vocant, non exercenda* (*Oration on the Sacred Criticism of the New Testament, Not to Be Exercised by So-Called Literators*). On the contrary, Valckenaer argues in favour of a thorough emendation of the Textus Receptus on the basis of both manuscript readings *and* conjectures (see pp. 31–32). However, he advises "Literatores" (philologists) who are not also theologians against getting involved in NT textual criticism, which is a dangerous enterprise given the religiously charged adherence of most theologians to the Textus Receptus (pp. 10–11). Instead, Valckenaer is of the opinion that theologians themselves should take up the task of moving beyond the poor text of the sixteenth century (pp. 48–56).

The misconception that the oration was a plea against NT conjectural emendation was probably caused by a combination of factors. First, Valckenaer does warn to be cautious in making conjectures on the NT text, also contending that there are very few corrupt passages in the New Testament (pp. 45–48; during his career, however, Valckenaer would defend at least 47 NT conjectures, most of which he devised himself; see Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* [2016]). Second, in a reprint of the oration in a 1784 collection of work by Hemsterhuis and himself (*Hemsterhusii et Valckenari Orationes*), Valckenaer changed the title slightly: "Oratio de critica emendatrice, in libris sacris Novi F. a literatoribus, quos vocant, non adhibenda" ("Oration on the Criticism by Emendation of the Sacred New Testament Writings, Not to Be Employed by So-Called Literators"). In the nineteenth century, Valckenaer's oration was mainly known under this title. The combination of the words "emendatrice" and "non adhibenda" could easily give rise to misunderstanding. See further especially van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 28–33, and Gerretzen, *Schola Hemsterhusiana* (1940), pp. 208–210.

113 "de geleerden van vroegere dagen misten ook nog die juistere kennis der codices, die wij thans bezitten" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 15).

114 Here Holwerda probably is not referring to an old manuscript that supports the transmit-

> one from trying one's best, using the knowledge that is now available: "What is beyond me may, sooner or later, be accomplished by someone else."[115]

3.6.2 *Argumentation in* Bijdragen *and "Tischendorf"*

In Holwerda's two following main publications on NT conjectural criticism, *Bijdragen* and "Tischendorf", Holwerda elaborates and emphasises what he only touched on in *Betrekking*, namely that the NT text is in a poorer condition than the text of the average ancient work. This is not only due to extensive copying after the first century, but also to the way NT writings came into being and were kept in the first decades after the production of the autograph. Holwerda describes, as an example, Paul's second letter to the Corinthians. The first problem of this work is that it is written by Paul,

> that is, by a man who, whatever great gifts he may have had otherwise, neither had adequate knowledge of the language he used, nor attached great value to expressing himself correctly and precisely.[116]

Besides that, the letter has been written "in varying moods,"[117] and was not meant to be published at all. No matter how competent Paul's amanuensis may have been, the autograph of 2 Corinthians must have already been corrupt.[118]

Subsequently, the letter was kept by Paul's friends and adherents. Whoever they may have been, they are not wronged if we compare them to the Apostolic

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ted text (or one of the known readings). In view of his text-critical ideas, it is more likely that Holwerda refers to an old manuscript that has a hitherto unknown reading, other than Holwerda's conjecture, that both fits the context and is conceivable as having caused the common reading (or set of readings).

115 "Hetgeen mijne krachten te boven gaat, kan ligt vroeg of laat door een ander tot stand worden gebragt" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 15).

116 "d. i. door een man, die, welke groote gaven hij voor het overige ook moge gehad hebben, de taal, waarvan hij zich bediende, gebrekkig verstond niet alleen, maar er ook weinig prijs op stelde, om zich juist en nauwkeurig uit te drukken" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 81).

117 "onder afwisselende aandoeningen …" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 81).

118 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 81. Of course the word 'corrupt' is not used here in the text-critical meaning 'changed', but more in the meaning 'messy'. What if conjectural emendation boils down to the critic correcting the author? Holwerda nowhere pursues this matter, but like Zuntz ("Critic" [1955]), he would probably think that also in that case he would do the author a favour.

Fathers and the writer of the *Homiliae Clementinae* (which were dated to the second century by many scholars in Holwerda's day).[119] These were people who

> in quoting passages paid more attention to content and sense than to the words. Do we really believe they bothered much about the accuracy of the copies they made or had made? The skill of cautiously purifying the text and restoring it as much as possible cannot be assigned to them in any case.[120]

Only after Paul's letters became authoritative in the church were the first translations made; the earliest Greek manuscripts are even younger. Therefore, prior to our most ancient sources there was already so much corruption that it is remarkable that the letter has not become entirely unreadable. Holwerda continues:

> When we investigate, in similar fashion, the history of the other books, we will soon realise that for most of these the same, for others even greater causes have been operating to corrupt the text to a greater or lesser extent. Only regarding very few of them, e.g. the Gospel of John and the Letter to the Hebrews, may one suspect they merely had to endure the dangers all books had to endure in those days.[121]

In order to further clarify why he thinks the NT text has had such an unfortunate transmission, Holwerda discusses an example of what he regards as a very fortunate transmission: the tragedies of Aeschylus. Although the oldest and most important witness is a tenth-century manuscript, Codex Mediceus,[122]

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119 See e.g. John Chapman, "Clementines" (1913), pp. 42b–44b, for an overview of dating proposals up to his own day.

120 "die bij het aanhalen van plaatsen meer op den inhoud en op den zin, dan op de woorden acht gaven. Is het te denken, dat zij zich over de naauwkeurigheid der afschriften, die zij maakten, of lieten maken, veel zullen hebben bekommerd? De bekwaamheid, om den tekst met voorzigtigheid te zuiveren en zoo veel mogelijk te herstellen, kan men hun in het geheel niet toekennen" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 81).

121 "Wanneer wij op gelijke wijze de geschiedenis der overige boeken nagaan, zullen wij spoedig inzien, dat bij de meeste gelijke, bij sommige nog grootere oorzaken hebben medegewerkt, om den tekst in meerdere of mindere mate te bederven. Van zeer weinige slechts, bijv. van het Evangelie van Joannes en den brief aan de Hebraeën mag men vermoeden, dat zij alleen die gevaren hebben moeten doorstaan, welke in die dagen alle boeken hadden door te staan" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 81).

122 Codex Mediceus ('M') or Laurentianus of Aeschylus is dated around 1000 A.D. today, older

Holwerda thinks the original text of Aeschylus' plays has been largely restored.[123] The transmission history of Aeschylus' plays differs greatly from the transmission history of the New Testament:

> But these [plays] had been carefully edited by the poet. They were highly appreciated among his contemporaries. Later as well they were treated with great care. Fortunately for him, he had far fewer readers and admirers in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the manuscript from which Codex Mediceus was produced in the 10th century, was itself 1200 or 1300 years old.[124]

To be sure, for Holwerda the difference between bad and good transmission does not correspond with a need for conjectures and no need for conjectures respectively. On the contrary, he typifies texts such as Aeschylus' plays as texts that are very suitable for conjectural emendation *precisely because they have been transmitted with care*. The difference between the New Testament and Aeschylus is that the former is so heavily corrupted that only a small part of all corrupt passages can be restored,[125] whereas the corruption in the latter is such that many passages can be restored. This viewpoint of Holwerda reveals Cobet's influence.[126] In his intellectual biography of Cobet Naber describes as one the strong points of Cobet's conjectural criticism that he knew when a passage was too heavily damaged for a succesful conjecture to be made. In the *annotationes* which Cobet added to his 1846 inaugural lecture—praised by Holwerda (see § 2.5)—Cobet already seriously warned against attempting to emend what is hopelessly corrupted.[127]

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than all other codices (apart from some papyrus fragments). It is the only Aeschylus manuscript that has all seven transmitted tragedies (though with two lacuna), two of which are not transmitted in any other manuscript. 'M' is still regarded as not only the oldest but also the best Aeschylus manuscript. See e.g. Rosenmeyer, *Aeschylus* (1982), pp. 14–15,19.

123 Holwerda could build his opinion on the important 1852 edition by Hermann (*Aeschyli Tragoediae* [1852]).

124 "Maar zij waren ook door den dichter zorgvuldig bewerkt geworden. Zijne tijdgenooten stelden zijne stukken op hoogen prijs. Ook later werd er niet weinig zorg voor gedragen. In de middeleeuwen had hij, tot zijn geluk, veel minder lezers en bewonderaars. Wie weet, of niet het Ms., naar 't welk het Medicésche in de 10e eeuw vervaardigd werd, 12 of 1300 jaren oud was?" See Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 82.

125 Cf. Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 594.

126 For a direct reference to Cobet in the context of semi-conjectures, see Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 23.

127 Cobet, *De arte interpretandi* (1847), pp. 49–50. Theocritus, for example, is a writer Cobet

Holwerda's judgment about the state of the NT text is unequivocal: "The New Testament text is truly in most miserable condition."[128] Holwerda is aware of the fact that people may consider such a judgment theologically dangerous. However, he thinks there is nothing to worry about. Bengel's "Nulla varietas tam gravis est, ut inde religionis summa pendeat" ("No variation is so weighty that the essence of religion rests on it") can also be applied to corruptions in the New Testament, which

> however many and however great they may be, do not render the *content*, the *true content* unknowable. One may compare it to an antique statue, which has been damaged very badly, but not to such a degree that one can no longer clearly discern posture, position, facial expressions, and especially the ideas the artist wanted to convey.[129]

One may even go one step further: the "cautious differentiation between what we know and do not know"[130] makes our knowledge of the essential content of the New Testament much better and firmer. This works both ways: on the one hand, passages that stand the test of thorough criticism become reliable materials for understanding early Christianity; on the other hand, leaving alone inexplicable, corrupt passages, instead of trying to explain them at all costs, will prevent us from arbitrary interpretations that become all too easily subservient to our dogmatic preferences.

3.6.3 *No Relation to Earlier New Testament Conjectural Criticism*

At the end of his review of Tischendorf's *Septima*, Holwerda writes about the NT textual criticism of the past age:

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dares to emend only a few times, believing his poetry has had a very bad transmission; see Naber, *Vier tijdgenooten* (1894), p. 280.

128 "De tekst van het N. T. bevindt zich waarlijk in een hoogst treurige toestand" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 64).

129 "… hoe veel en groot zij ook mogen zijn, [zij] maken echter den inhoud, den wezenlijken inhoud er van niet onkenbaar. Men kan het bij een antiek standbeeld vergelijken, dat zeer erg geschonden is, doch niet zóó, of de houding, de stand, de gelaatstrekken, en vooral ook de denkbeelden, die de kunstenaar aanschouwelijk wilde maken, kunnen duidelijk genoeg onderscheiden worden" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 71). Interestingly, here Holwerda uses the same image as Tregelles in the latter's rejection of conjectural emendation (see § 3.5.3).

130 "zorgvuldige schifting van hetgeen wij weten en niet weten" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 595).

> From Griesbach to Tischendorf's *Ed. septima* it has always been going round in circles. Undoubtedly it will long continue to do so, if it does not find and take other paths than those which it has followed so far.[131]

From what follows, it is clear that "going round in circles" for Holwerda means refraining from making use of conjectural emendation, or at least from admitting that many passages are corrupt. This reproach is interesting, because it perfectly shows that Holwerda was not well acquainted with the NT textual criticism of the last century. He seems to view the recent history of the field through the lens of Tischendorf's scholarship. Tischendorf refrained from conjectural emendation, but Griesbach actually made a few dozen conjectures.[132]

Furthermore, in Lachmann Holwerda could have found not only a NT conjectural critic, but also one who, just like him, regarded more conjectural criticism as the inevitable corollary of moving from the ecclesiastical to the ancient text (see § 3.2.3). But Holwerda seems to have taken hardly any notice of Lachmann's work. In the entire corpus of Holwerda's NT publications I have found only two references to Lachmann's text, one of which is accompanied by a short explanation of the special target Lachmann had set himself.[133] Perhaps this plays a role in Holwerda's ignorance of Lachmann's conjectural criticism: he did not expect it from a critic who did not aim at restoring the original text. After all, Lachmann published most of his conjectures in the preface to the 1850 second volume of his *editio critica maior*,[134] twenty years after he had set forth his principles in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.[135] I would not be surprised if Holwerda simply passed over Lachmann's major edition, the apparatus of which had little to add to what Tischendorf already offered.

Had Holwerda been more attentive to the work of Lachmann, he might have also learned about the NT text-critical ideas of the famous theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834). Schleiermacher was Lachmann's colleague at Berlin University, and had been of great help to Lachmann in the lat-

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131 "Van Griesbach af tot op Tischendorfs *ed. septima* toe heeft zij steeds in den zelfden kring rondgeloopen. Zij zal het ongetwijfeld nog lang blijven doen, wanneer zij geene andere wegen opzoekt en inslaat, dan die, welke zij tot nog toe bewandeld heeft" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 594).

132 See the Amsterdam Database.

133 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 9; the other reference to Lachmann is in *Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 27.

134 Lachmann and Buttmann, *NTGL 2* (1850), pp. v–xiii.

135 Lachmann, "Rechenschaft" (1830).

ter's dealings with the New Testament.[136] Lachmann even dedicated his *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* to the memory of Schleiermacher. In his posthumous *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (1838), Schleiermacher sketches a picture of the transmission of the NT text that is rather similar to the scenario depicted by Holwerda:

> Die erste Vervielfältigung des N. T. geschah zum Privatgebrauch. Dazu kommt, daß bei der Entstehung dessen, was der Sammlung vorausgehen mußte, alles zufällig und gelegentlich war. Wie sind z. B. die Abschriften der einzelnen apostolischen Briefe zu andern Gemeinden gekommen? Offenbar durch Einzelne zufällig und gelegentlich. Nachher mag mehr Genauigkeit entstanden sein, das ursprüngliche Verfahren war keineswegs von der Art. Also kann im N. T. weit weniger davon die Rede sein, das Ursprüngliche herzustellen, als bei den classischen Schriften. Hier war die Vervielfältigung vom Anfang an mehr regelmäßig und von philologischem Interesse geleitet. Wäre auch im N. T. die Nothwendigkeit häufiger, dem Text durch divinatorische Kritik zu Hülfe zu kommen, die Lösung hätte doch nie den Grad der Sicherheit, wie auf dem classischen Gebiet. Es giebt allerdings im N. T. Stellen, welche durch das Vorhandene nicht zu heilen sind, und die Zahl derselben wird größer, wenn man auf den ältesten Text zurückgeht, weil die späteren Handschriften schon Emendationen aufgenommen haben.[137]

Like Holwerda, therefore, Schleiermacher thinks that especially the most ancient copies show that the early transmission of the NT writings lacked the philological precision with which classical writings were handed down. They were copied "nur aus religiösem Interesse, ohne alles philologische,"[138] as Schleiermacher says in the same paragraph. And Schleiermacher draws the same conclusion: it is more difficult to apply conjectural emendation to the text of the New Testament than to the text of classical writings, while in many cases the corruption is such that it cannot be restored.

In his opposition to Tischendorf, and to such scholars as Winer and de Wette, Holwerda could have aligned himself with the ideas of Schleiermacher and the practical examples of Lachmann, had he been more attentive to these Berlin

136 See Lachmann, "De ordine" (1835), p. 572; *NTGL 1* (1842), pp. xxxi–xxxii.

137 Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (1838), p. 343.

138 Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (1838), p. 343.

TABLE 2 *Holwerda's conjectures related to TR solutions*

	TR solution for MCT	**TR = MCT**	***Total***
Full conjectures	37	56	93
Semi-conjectures	10	21	31
Total	47	77	124

voices. In this regard, the fact that Holwerda was a pastor, who did not have at his disposal the books of a university library, may have played a role. "My library is very limited," Holwerda says in "Antikritiek."[139]

Of course there had been many other conjectural critics in the history of NT textual criticism,[140] but, as mentioned, Holwerda thinks their work has become largely irrelevant because they did not work with the ancient manuscripts that were available in his day. In this regard, Holwerda clearly inflates the difference between the text of the most ancient manuscripts and the Textus Receptus. Of course, the TR reading often is a (text-critically) failed attempt to restore the corrupt ancient reading. But Table 2 shows that in about two thirds of his conjectures, Holwerda actually emends a reading that is attested by both Textus Receptus and the ancient text.

So according to Holwerda's actual practice the Textus Receptus itself is already a text in need of conjectural emendation. Apparently, a scholar who is in the middle of a paradigm shift may exaggerate the gap between present and previous scholarship.

By largely ignoring previous conjectural criticism Holwerda has sometimes been re-inventing the wheel. At least eight times Holwerda presents a conjecture as his own invention, while the conjecture was already made before.[141] (Of course the 'intersubjectivity' of such proposals is interesting.) In at least sixteen other cases another conjecture (or even more than one) had been made before, to which Holwerda does not respond.[142]

139 "Mijne bibliotheek is zeer beperkt"; Holwerda, "Antikritiek" (1855), p. 528.

140 For an overview of NT conjectural criticism up to the middle of the nineteenth century, see van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 6–45; van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 13–57.

141 This is the case with Holwerda's conjectures on Luke 5:19, Luke 9:25, Luke 12:1, Luke 19:4, John 2:23, Acts 21:26, 1 Tim 5:13 and 1 Pet 3:21 (see the Amsterdam Database).

142 This is the case with Holwerda's conjectures on Matt 8:9, Mark 1:1–3, Mark 14:72, Mark 15:36,

3.7 Conclusion

The above investigation into the theoretical aspects of Holwerda's conjectural criticism reveals significant differences between the several major textual critics of the middle of the nineteenth century. These differences concern the balance between external and internal criticism within one's method, the question of where to draw the line between 'ancient' and 'younger' manuscripts, and, related to both these issues, the use or non-use of conjectural emendation. Clearly, approaching the history of NT textual criticism from the angle of conjectural emendation sheds new light on this history.

Holwerda's NT textual criticism takes up a middle position between Lachmann and Tischendorf. He follows both scholars in privileging the older manuscripts; in fact, he sharpens this position by claiming, like Tregelles, that the two oldest manuscripts—Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus—are the main witnesses to the original text. The sections that describe how Holwerda and Tregelles, in the early 1850s, in different ways came to recognize the superiority of Vaticanus form an important contribution to our knowledge of this codex's reception in the nineteenth century.

Regarding the evaluation of manuscripts, Holwerda clearly sides with Lachmann (and goes against Tischendorf and Tregelles): though the oldest ones are the most reliable, they are still full of corruptions and therefore in need of conjectural emendation. However, unlike Lachmann and like Tischendorf (and Tregelles), Holwerda is looking for the original text, not the common text of the fourth century. Also, by leaving out of consideration the concept of manuscript families, and by attaching much weight to internal considerations, Holwerda resembles Tischendorf, though Holwerda thinks the latter should take exegetical and grammatical considerations much more into account.

To be sure, the above multifaceted positioning of Holwerda is my analysis. As regards textual critics, Holwerda relates himself almost exclusively to Tischendorf. He does so mainly in the form of opposition, whereas Holwerda and Tischendorf in fact have much in common: both use internal criteria to find the original reading among the ancient manuscripts. Here Holwerda's character plays a role again. He goes against authorities, and in the 1850s Tischendorf had become the supreme authority in the field.

Luke 3:23, Luke 10:42, Luke 18:7, John 19:20, Acts 18:5, Rom 5:6 [cj12238], 1 Cor 3:4, 1 Cor 15:1, 2 Cor 3:3, 2 Cor 12:1, Gal 1:1, Eph 1:1, 1 Thess 3:3, Jas 3:12. See the Amsterdam Database for the other conjectures involved.

An important conclusion of the investigations undertaken in this chapter is that the depiction of nineteenth-century NT conjectural critics as dreamers who "amused themselves by proposing thousands of conjectural emendations"[143] does not do justice to the way conjectural emendation functioned for such scholars as Lachmann and Holwerda. For them conjectural emendation was not some agreeable 'extra' to the actual business; it formed an integral part of the whole of textual criticism. Indeed, it was embedded within the very paradigm shift they were bringing about at the same time by giving priority to the most ancient manuscripts. Their conjectural criticism simply forms a counterpart of Tischendorf's eclectic response to insuperably difficult ancient readings.

Holwerda does not seem to have been influenced by Lachmann or Tischendorf. Insofar as he resembles Lachmann (conjectural emendation), this is not because of direct influence, but because both Lachmann and Holwerda entered the field of the New Testament from classical philology. Insofar as he resembles Tischendorf (priority of internal considerations), this is mere coincidence: Tischendorf follows a trend of scepticism towards manuscript classifications within the field of NT textual criticism, while Holwerda's rejection of it is a product of the anti-stemmatic climate in Leiden.

Holwerda's particular theoretical position in the field cannot be reduced entirely to his Leiden background. His investigation into the relative worth of individual copies is prompted by the specific luxury problem of NT manuscripts; to my knowledge he had seen, in this regard, no example in the work of the Leiden philologists. Besides that, in the specific argumentation concerning NT conjectural emendation and the methodological principles according to which he wanted to apply the procedure to the NT text, Holwerda went, and had to go, his own way. He had to struggle against a firm antipathy towards NT conjectural emendation among such leading scholars as de Wette, Winer and Tischendorf, and he had to deal with specific counter-arguments that were going round among Dutch NT scholars in his day. Moreover, Holwerda thought the situation of the NT text called for a different approach from that of his Leiden colleagues. Because they could work, in general, with texts that were transmitted by philologically competent copyists, most corruptions found in the oldest manuscripts could be restored. The NT text, by contrast, had been transmitted so carelessly in the first centuries, that it was often impossible to recover the original reading. Therefore Holwerda represents one of the darkest

143 Metzger and Ehrman, *Text* ([4]2005), p. 230.

opinions on the quality of the NT text that has ever been voiced. Still, he did his level best to restore those passages that where corrupt but not hopeless; the next chapter takes a clooser look at Holwerda in action as a conjectural critic.

CHAPTER 4

Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Holwerda's New Testament Conjectures

4.1 Introduction

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Building on the historical and theoretical analysis of chapters 2 and 3, chapter 4 analyses Holwerda's actual conjectures. It thus deals with the third and last subquestion, namely how Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism can be understood according to the nature of the specific conjectures and their place in the scholarship on the passages concerned.

The chapter is divided into two parts: a quantitative analysis (§ 4.2) and a more extensive qualitative analysis (§ 4.3). The structure of the second part is largely based on the findings in the first part.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis

4.2.1 *Introduction*

This section quantifies Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism in two ways. First, Holwerda's conjectures are shown as distributed over his own writings and the biblical books respectively (§ 4.2.2). Second, and more extensively, the conjectures are categorised according to the classification already mentioned in § 1.9. Subsection 4.2.3.1 describes the classification, subsection 4.2.3.2 provides various classification tables.

4.2.2 *Holwerda's Conjectures as Distributed over His Writings and over the Biblical Books*

Holwerda's 124 conjectures are scattered over 10 different publications. Some conjectures are suggested in a letter but were never published.[1] These conjectures are not included in the overview. There are two reasons for this restriction to published conjectures. First, I have investigated Holwerda's letters only in part (see p. 20 n. 3); therefore taking into account those discussions that I happened to come across would make the analytical overview arbitrary. Sec-

1 E.g. Holwerda's proposal ἡμέραις for ἡμέραι in Luke 9:28 [cj13677].

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ond, there is a difference between a scholar asking a colleague for his opinion about a conjecture, and the actual proposal of a conjecture in a publication. The former is more provisional than the latter.

Of course publishing a conjecture does not mean that one cannot change one's opinion afterwards. After 1866 Holwerda no longer wrote on NT conjectural criticism, but he may have regretted some of the conjectures he published. This is important to keep in mind: textual conjectures lack the aspect of relative 'necessity' that is characteristic of types of scholarship in which various opinions expressed by a scholar are related to each other, together making up a 'big picture' (for example, various opinions jointly presenting a scholar's view on the origin of the Jesus movement). Still, although it is true of each conjecture on its own that Holwerda may no longer have approved of it afterwards, taken together the conjectures provide a reliable profile of Holwerda as a NT conjectural critic.

Table 3 shows the distribution of Holwerda's conjectures over the different publications. In the case of discussion in multiple publications, the first publication is registered, unless a later discussion involves an addition to or a correction of the argumentation; in that case, the later publication is registered.[2]

One straightforward intrinsic feature of the conjectures has been given a place in the table, namely its being a 'semi-conjecture' or a 'full' conjecture. As mentioned, the term 'semi-conjecture' is coined for the type of textual proposal in which a scholar states that none of the known variant readings is original, but does not come up with a suggestion for this lost original reading. Holwerda appears to make relatively many semi-conjectures. A full conjecture, naturally, contains both a declaration of corruption and a suggestion for restoration. However, in the conjectural criticism of Holwerda the categories of semi-conjecture and full conjecture should not be conceived of as binary. For Holwerda, there seems to be more like a sliding scale of certainty: first conjectures he would stake his life on,[3] then conjectures that are probably or most probably right;[4] then, sometimes, conjectures that are not implausi-

2 This causes small differences from the figures provided in § 2.8.3, § 2.10, § 2.11, § 2.13.4, § 2.15 and § 2.16.3.

3 E.g. Holwerda's conjecture on 2 Cor 3:3: "an easy and clear example" ("een gemakkelijk en duidelijk voorbeeld"; *Betrekking* [1853], p. 109). Cf. *Betrekking* (1853), p. 15: "that I consider part of these [the conjectures in *Betrekking*] to be certain" ("dat ik ze gedeeltelijk voor zeker … houd").

4 E.g. Holwerda's conjecture on Acts 5:26: "Luke probably wrote" ("waarschijnlijk heeft Lucas geschreven"; *Betrekking* [1853], p. 79).

TABLE 3 *Holwerda's conjectures as distributed over his writings*

Publication	**Full**	**Semi**	***Total***
Dissertatio (1830)	1	0	1
Betrekking (1853)	25	11	36
Aanteekeningen (1853)	6	1	7
"Opmerkingen" (1854)	2	1	3
Bijdragen (1855)	16	14	30
Review of Peerlkamp's *Opmerkingen* (1855)	0	2	2
"Open brief" (1856)	3	0	3
"Tischendorf" (1860)	34	2	36
"1 Petr. III:18–IV:6" (1862)	1	0	1
Hellenica (1866)	5	0	5
Total	93	31	124

ble, but more meant to point out the problem than to restore the text (so-called 'diagnostic' conjectures);[5] and finally corrupt passages he is not able to emend ('semi-conjectures'). Yet for methodical purposes this research only distinguishes the two categories of semi-conjectures and full conjectures.

Table 3 clearly shows what was already pointed out in the previous chapter, namely that there are three key publications: *Betrekking* (1853), *Bijdragen* (1855) and "Tischendorf" (1860).

Table 4 shows the distribution of Holwerda's conjectures over the different biblical books, with the Pauline literature and the Catholic epistles taken as a whole respectively. In columns 1–3 the conjectures are counted, distinguishing full conjectures, semi-conjectures and the sum of both. Column 4 shows the sum of conjectures on a book or a group of books as a percentage of all Holwerda conjectures, column 5 shows books or groups of books as percentages of the entire New Testament (the length of books is measured by the sum of verses).[6] Subsequently in column 6 the percentages of column 4 are related to

5 E.g. Holwerda's conjectures on 1John 5:14–15: "A not implausible conjecture may, then, shed light on the nature of the corruption we are dealing with here" ("Eene niet onwaarschijnlijke conjectuur moge dan den aard der corruptie, met welke wij hier te doen hebben, in het licht stellen"; *Betrekking* [1853], p. 103).

6 The entire New Testament (MCT) has 7957 verses; Matthew has 1071; Mark 678; Luke 1151; John 879; Acts 1006; Paul 2032; Hebrews 303; the Catholic Epistles 432; Revelation 405.

TABLE 4 *Holwerda's conjectures as distributed over the biblical books, related to the size of these books*

	Conjectures			Percentages		
	1. Full	2. Semi	3. Total	4. Book(s) cjs / all cjs	5. Book(s) / NT	6. 4 minus 5
Matt	13	6	19	15.3%	13.5%	+ 1.8%
Mark	7	6	13	10.5%	8.5%	+ 2%
Luke	17	5	22	17.7%	14.5%	+ 3.2%
John	18	3	21	16.9%	11%	+ 5.9%
Acts	11	3	14	11.3%	12.6%	– 1.3%
Paul	20	7	27	21.8%	25.5%	– 3.7%
Heb	0	0	0	0%	3.8%	– 3.8%
C Ep	7	1	8	6.4%	5.4%	+ 1%
Rev	0	0	0	0%	5%	– 5%
Total	93	31	124	100%	100%	0%

the percentages of column 5 in order to see whether there are relatively many or few conjectures on a certain book or a certain group of books.

Table 4 makes clear that Holwerda's conjectural criticism is quite evenly spread over the New Testament. The most salient features are the absence of conjectures on Hebrews and Revelation;[7] a slight preponderance of Gospel conjectures; and, within the four Gospels, a slight preponderance of conjectures on John.[8]

4.2.3 *Holwerda's Conjectures Classified according to Problems, Causes and Operations*

4.2.3.1 The Classification

The above tables map the more obvious features of Holwerda's conjectures: the technical status of the conjecture (semi- or full), the publication in which the conjecture is made and the biblical book containing the passage concerned. For an *analytical* overview of his conjectural criticism, Holwerda's conjectures

7 There are also no Holwerda conjectures on 2Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, 2John, 3John and Jude.

8 Yet the 5.9% score for John in column 6 is flattering: on pp. 128–129 of *Bijdragen* (1855) Holwerda makes six conjectures 'at once' on problematic instances of με in John (see § 4.3.3.4).

are tabulated below according to different types. This is done by means of the classification recently published by our research group under the title: "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics: A Classification of Conjectures on the Text of the New Testament."[9]

The key to this classification is "the observation that the argumentation for a conjecture contains two major dimensions: on the one hand, critics perceive different kinds of problems in the transmitted reading; on the other hand, they imagine different kinds of causes of the supposed scribal change."[10]

Let us take as an example Holwerda's conjecture on 1 Cor 3:4, which will be discussed more extensively in § 4.3.2.4. After the *protasis* "For when one says, 'I belong to Paul,' and another, 'I belong to Apollos,'" the conditional sentence is completed by a strange rhetorical question: οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστέ? Why would it be problematic to be a human being? Holwerda thinks these words are simply "incomprehensible."[11] So this is the problem dimension in the argumentation. Holwerda solves the problem by conjecturing ἀνθρώπου for ἄνθρωποι: οὐκ ἀνθρώπου ἐστέ, 'are you not of a human being?', which would mean as much as "do you then not side with a human being?"[12] He argues that in the first age CE the upsilon (Υ) was sometimes written in such a way that it looked very much like an iota (Ι). This belongs to the cause dimension of the argumentation.

Now it appears possible to distinguish several types of problems, as well as several types of causes. The problem detected by Holwerda in 1 Cor 3:4, for example, falls into the category 'passage-related (content)' problems—the transmitted text is inexplicable or nonsensical. The supposed cause in Holwerda's 1 Cor 3:4 conjecture is 'misperception'—more precisely misperception due to similarity in image.

The classification distinguishes five main types of problems; including subtypes there are ten problem categories. The two main groups of causes are 'unintentional' and 'intentional'. There are three sub-types of unintentional causes (each one having several sub-types as well), as well as six sub-types of intentional causes (each occurring in two different variants).

In addition to the two dimensions of problem and cause, a third dimension can be distinguished in each conjecture, namely the proposed textual operation as such. Each conjecture is "an addition, omission, substitution, transposition or a combination of two or more of these operations."[13]

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9 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015).

10 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 76.

11 "onverstaanbaar" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 85).

12 "Houdt gij het dan niet met een mensch?" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 85).

13 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 75.

Below an overview of all types and definitions is provided.[14]

A. Categories of problems

1. *Stemmatic*—the variety of readings calls for a conjectured reading at the top of the local stemma.[15]
2. *Philological*—the transmitted text is grammatically or lexically incompatible with the Greek language (classical or Koine), or with the specific philological background of the NT authors (Septuagint).
3. *Passage-related* (*PR*)—the transmitted text does not fit its immediate literary context, that is, the sentence or passage concerned.
   - 3.1. *Style*—the transmitted text contains superfluous elements or is otherwise stylistically problematic.
   - 3.2. *Content*—the transmitted text is inexplicable or nonsensical.[16]
4. *Author-related* (*AR*).
   - 4.1. *Style*—the transmitted text does not fit the style of the author.
   - 4.2. *Content*—the transmitted text is irreconcilable with what the author writes elsewhere in the same work or in other writings.

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14 See Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 77–86. In comparison to the overview presented in "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics", three refinements were introduced. In definitions of problem categories the word 'text' is used consistently (instead of alternating 'reading' and 'text'); the former category 'text-critical' is now labelled 'stemmatic'; and the definitions of PR problems were adjusted (see p. 143 n. 16).

15 In "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" this category was labelled 'text-critical'.

16 In "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" the PR-content problems are defined as follows: "the transmitted reading creates nonsense or is implausible on the basis of the content it produces" (Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" [2015], p. 78). This somewhat complicated definition was designed to include cases I now consider to be more at home in its cognate category 'PR-style problems', namely those cases in which textual critics omit pieces of text they consider superfluous in the passage concerned (see for example Holwerda's conjectures on Matt 8:33, 12:48, 24:38, Luke 3:19, John 2:23, Acts 13:17 and Acts 13:24 in § 4.3.5). Transposing those cases from the former to the latter category leads to a new definition of PR-content problems: *the transmitted text is inexplicable or nonsensical*. It also leads to a new definition of PR-style problems: *the transmitted text contains superfluous elements or is otherwise stylistically problematic* (former definition: "the transmitted reading disrupts the stylistic characteristics of the passage"; Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" [2015], p. 78). This refinement of definitions does not affect the comparison with Peerlamp's conjectures as analysed by van Beek on the basis of the 'old' definitions (see several footnotes below).

5. *Extraneous* (*Extr.*)—the transmitted text contradicts information the critic derives from
   5.1. *The Old Testament*.
   5.2. *The New Testament*.
   5.3. *Extra-biblical sources*.
   5.4. *Higher-critical theory*.

B. Categories of causes[17]

1. *Unintentional*—all scribal errors.
   1.1. *Misperception*—including dittography, haplography, or the writing down of a word similar in image and/or sound to the word that should have been copied.
   1.2. *Misunderstanding*—of a numeral, a nomen sacrum or a correction.
   1.3. *Confusion*—including accidental omission ('lipography'), adaptation to the surrounding text ('contagion'), replacement by a synonym, substitution due to unfamiliarity of the word to be copied, unintentional change of a proper name, language error, transposition of letters, words, lines, columns or folios.
2. *Intentional*—all causes involving purposeful scribal activity. Critics can assume either that a scribe simply changed the text, or that first a note was written in the margin of the copy, which was subsequently—on purpose or by accident—inserted into the text by a later scribe.
   2.1. *Conflation*—a scribe combined the original reading with a corrupted one into a new reading.
   2.2. *Repair*—a scribe repaired a text damaged by a supposed earlier corruption, or by words having become unreadable.
   2.3. *Improvement*—a scribe improved language, style or logic/plausibility of the passage.
   2.4. *Explanation*—a scribe explained a certain element in the text.
   2.5. *Harmonisation*—a scribe changed the text in order to harmonise with a passage in another biblical book.
   2.6. *Contextualisation*—any change of the text that reflects the historical context (liturgy, ethics, dogmatics, etc.) of the scribe concerned.

17 The categories of causes provided in "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" are nothing new; they had already been identified by textual critics trying to classify actual textual changes observed in the manuscripts. Yet "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" does two things: it provides an example conjecture for each cause category, and it structures these categories as systematically as possible in order to create a functional classification (cf. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" [2015], pp. 80–81).

C. Categories of textual operations

1. *Addition.*
2. *Omission.*
3. *Substitution.*
4. *Transposition.*

4.2.3.2 Holwerda's Conjectures Classified

All Holwerda conjectures have been classified according to problems, causes and operations. Some conjectures can be found in a letter dating from before the first publication.[18] However, only the argumentation as provided in the publication is included in the analysis. Many conjectures he defends twice (or even more often), and sometimes the second discussion involves an important addition to or correction of the first.[19] In cases of correction, only the second opinion is included in the analysis. This results in the tables below.

Table 5 shows the types of problems involved in Holwerda's 93 full conjectures. In 79 cases there is only one problem detected by Holwerda.[20] In 8 conjectures there are two problems, in 5 conjectures there are three problems, and in 1 conjecture (the omission of Mark 1:1–3, see § 4.3.4.3) Holwerda's argumentation contains as many as five different types of problems.[21] In Table 5 the conjectures are grouped on the horizontal axis according to the number of problems involved, with the far right-hand column containing the sum of all conjectures. The vertical axis shows types of problems, leaving out the types that would have value 0 in the total column.

18 E.g. Holwerda's conjecture on John 8:25 can be found in his letter to Vissering, 25 Apr. 1855, f. 3^{r}, which is five years before it was published in "Tischendorf" (1860).

19 This is the case in Holwerda's conjectures on Matt 21:16, Mark 10:10, Luke 3:19 and John 3:22–26.

20 In 20 of these 79 cases the problem involved remains implicit, but can be deduced from the conjecture made (see e.g. the conjecture on Matt 14:3, discussed in § 4.3.2.5.) Cf. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 76–77.

21 As mentioned in Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), "the case for a conjecture can be strengthened by each additional problem" (p. 86), depending, of course, on the strength of the argumentation concerning those additional problems. As shown, Holwerda only points out more than one problem in 14 of his 93 conjectures. Peerlkamp, whose 27 NT conjectures have been classified by van Beek, does so relatively much more often: 11 conjectures are based on one problem, 11 other conjectures are based on two problems, and 4 conjectures are based on three problems (in one conjecture the problem is unclear). See van Beek, *Peerlkamp* (2015), pp. 137–139.

TABLE 5 *Types of problems in full conjectures*

Type of problem	**1 problem (79 cjs)**	**2 problems (8 cjs)**	**3 problems (5 cjs)**	**5 problems (1 cj)**	***Total* (*93 cjs*)**
Stemmatic	0	2	3	0	5
Philological	37	6[a]	1	1	45
PR-style	8	1	8[b]	1	18
PR-content	34	6[c]	3[d]	1	44
AR-style	0	1	0	1	2
Extr. (OT)	0	0	0	1	1
Total	79	16	15	5	115

[a] In two conjectures (Luke 13:28 and Gal 1:1) there are two different philological problems at stake (see § 4.3.3.3.2 and § 4.3.3.8 respectively).

[b] In three conjectures with a stemmatic problem (Matt 2:22, Matt 12:48 and Luke 3:19) there are parallel PR-style problems related to the two mutually independent readings at the top of the stemma (see § 4.3.4.1).

[c] In one conjecture (Rom 12:3) there are two different PR-content problems at stake (see § 4.3.2.6).

[d] In one conjecture (John 19:29/8 [cj10831]) there are two different PR-content problems at stake (see § 4.3.2.3).

It is clear at once that two types of problems are most frequent by far: philological and PR-content problems, with 45 and 44 instances in the total column respectively, on a total of 115 instances. As mentioned above, a philological problem means that *the transmitted text is grammatically or lexically incompatible with the Greek language* (*classical or Koine*)*, or with the specific philological background of the NT authors* (*Septuagint*). A PR-content problem means that *the transmitted text is inexplicable or nonsensical*. In "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" we suggested PR-content problems are "the most commonly perceived ones."[22] From that perspective, the high number of PR-content problems in Holwerda's corpus of full conjectures is not surprising.[23] The high number of philological problems, by contrast, seems to be a more characteristic feature.[24]

22 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 90.

23 Cf. Peerlkamp's NT conjectures: on a total of 26 conjectures with a classified problem, 23 conjectures are based on a PR-content problem (often accompanied by one and sometimes by two other problems); see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* (2015), pp. 137–139.

24 Of course such things can be stated more confidently once more conjectural critics will

TABLE 6 *Types of problems in semi-conjectures*

Type of problem	**1 problem (21 cjs)**	**2 problems (2 cjs)**	**3 problems (1 cj)**	**6 problems (1 cj)**[25]	***Total* (*25 cjs*)**
Philological	3	2	0	1	6
PR-content	18	2	3	5	28
Total	21	4	3	6	34

The only other problem category with a substantial number of instances is the category of PR-style problems (*the transmitted text contains superfluous elements or is otherwise stylistically problematic*), namely 18 in sum. In only a few cases do other types of problems—stemmatic, AR-style and extraneous (OT)—play a role. Completely absent from the table are AR-content problems, as well as extraneous problems concerning other NT writings, concerning extra-biblical sources and concerning higher-critical theory.

Table 6 subsequently shows the types of problems involved in Holwerda's semi-conjectures. As noted, Holwerda makes 31 such conjectures. In 6 cases, Holwerda does not explicitly state why the passage is problematic (though all cases are evidently problematic for various reasons). These 6 conjectures are excluded from Table 6.[26]

In Holwerda's semi-conjectures, PR-content problems are dominant, only 6 out of 34 problems being of another type—philological. In sum, Tables 5 and 6 show that Holwerda's conjectural criticism for the largest part deals with the text as such, that is, with analysing a passage with an eye to language (philological problems) and meaning (PR-content problems). There are hardly any conjectures that stem from comparison with other passages by the same author

be analysed with the help of our classification, through which a frame of reference will be produced. Presently, only Peerlkamp's NT conjectures have been classified according to our classification. Peerlkamp detects a philological problem in 12 out of his 26 conjectures, but only in one of these conjectures the philological problem is the only problem (see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* [2015], pp. 137–139).

25 This concerns Holwerda's judgment about John 3:22–26.

26 Whereas for full conjectures the implicit problem can be deduced from the conjecture made (see p. 145 n. 20), semi-conjectures do not provide this aid. For all other 25 semi-conjectures Holwerda explicitly describes the problem or problems involved.

or with other writings, or from measuring the authenticity of a passage by its conformity to a certain higher-critical viewpoint.[27]

Table 7 turns to the second dimension, the causes supposed by Holwerda in his 93 full conjectures (semi-conjectures do not play a role here, since causes are always connected to actual proposals). In 76 cases, there is only one cause involved;[28] in 13 cases a two-step corruption scenario is assumed, involving two causes.[29] Since these two causes are connected to one of the two steps in the corruption process respectively, they are positioned in the table in two separate columns, labelled '1st cause' and '2nd cause'.[30] In 4 cases neither is it clear what type of cause is assumed by Holwerda, nor can such a type be deduced from the conjecture made ('implicit cause').[31] These 4 conjectures are excluded from Table 7.

On the vertical axis types of causes (smaller font) are shown as three groups: the unintentional types of misperception and confusion, and types of intentional changes (larger font). In the group type rows the numbers of the above rows are added up. The types that would have value 0 in the total column are left out of the table.

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27 For examples of such conjectures, see e.g. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 78–79.

28 In 41 of these 76 cases the assumed cause remains implicit, but can be deduced from the conjecture made (see e.g. the conjecture on 1 Tim 5:13, discussed in § 4.3.2.5). Cf. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 76–77.

29 See e.g. the conjecture on Luke 10:42 discussed in § 4.3.4.2. In four of Holwerda's twelve two-step conjectures the causes are implicit, but can be deduced from the conjecture made (see e.g. the conjecture on Rom 12:3 discussed in § 4.3.2.6). Cf. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 76–77.

30 This does not apply to conjectures with a stemmatic problem. In the case of a stemmatic problem, the scenario assumed is that of an original reading that was corrupted in two different ways independently; the original reading vanished, the corrupted readings survived. If critics assume such a scenario, they have to come up with two causes that should not be considered in sequence, but in parallel. Holwerda detects a stemmatic problem 5 times. That means that in 5 of the 12 conjectures with two causes, the position of the respective causes in the columns '1st cause' and '2nd cause' has nothing to do with the sequence in the corruption process (instead, 1st cause means change from conjecture to MCT reading, 2nd cause means change from conjecture to the other reading).

31 Namely the conjectures on Matt 8:9, Mark 15:36, Luke 7:8 and Luke 18:7. About the phenomenon of 'implicit cause' (and 'implicit problem'), see Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 76–77.

On a total of 102 causes in Holwerda's conjectures there are 66 instances of unintentional change and 36 instances of intentional change. Whereas the classification has three types of unintentional changes, only two of these play a role in Holwerda's conjectural criticism: misperception (49) and confusion (17); there are no 'misunderstanding' conjectures.[32] As to the specific cause categories, two of them stand out: the intentional category 'explanation' (20), and, even more, the unintentional-misperception category 'similarity' (43).[33] Absent from this table and thus from Holwerda's conjectural criticism are the following subtypes: dittography, synonym, unfamiliarity, proper name, all types of transposition except for transposition of words, and harmonisation.[34]

A striking feature of Table 7 is that all 13 second causes involve intentional changes, and that 7 of these concern the cause category 'repair'. However, neither the former not the latter are peculiar to Holwerda; rather, these things follow naturally from the nature of second causes, whether as an actual second step in the corruption process (repair), or as one of two parallel causes in the case of a stemmatic problem (it is less plausible that parallel changes are unintentional).[35]

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32 See for examples of misunderstanding conjectures Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 82–83.

Peerlkamp, too, never uses the category 'misunderstanding' in his NT conjectures (see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* [2015], pp. 137–139). Also, as in Holwerda, about half of the Peerlkamp causes classified by van Beek concern instances of misperception (12 out of 23); see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* (2015), pp. 137–139.

33 In Peerlkamp's NT conjectural criticism similarity is also the most prominent cause (9 out of 23); see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* (2015), pp. 137–139. I assume, on the basis of the classification of Holwerda's and Peerlkamp's conjectures, as well as my experience with NT conjectural criticism in general, that the category of similarity (in its three forms 'general', 'image' and 'sound') is the most common cause category in NT conjectural criticism, and probably in conjectural criticism in general.

34 See for examples of conjectures with such causes Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), pp. 81–84.

35 As mentioned in Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 86, in two-step corruption processes often 'repair' is the second step. The idea is that the first step is an unintentional change leading to a text that needs to be 'repaired' by a second scribe (who, however, fails to restore the original text). See for example Holwerda's conjecture on 1 Cor 16:2, discussed in § 4.3.2.6. As regards two causes in the case of a stemmatic problem, see p. 148 n. 30.

One of Holwerda's second causes does not fall into one of both typical second cause groups. This is Holwerda's second cause for his conjecture on Mark 1:1–3, which he believes

TABLE 7 *Types of causes*

Type of cause	**1 cause (76 cjs)**	**2 causes (13 cjs)**		***Total* (*89 cjs*)**
		1st cause	**2nd cause**	
Misperception				
Haplography	5	1		6
Similarity	40	3		43[a]
Total	45	4		49
Confusion				
Lipography	7	1		8
Contagion	2	0		2
Language error	5	0		5
Transp. (words)	0	2		2
Total	14	3		17
Intentional				
Conflation	1	0	1	2
Repair	0	0	7	7
Improvement	3	2	1	6
Explanation	12	4	4	20
Contextualisation	1	0	0	1
Total	17	6	13	36
Total	76	13	13	102

[a] General 18; image 15; sound 10.

As indicated in the classification, there are two possible corruption scenarios when an intentional change is suggested: either a scribe simply changed the text, or first a note was written in the margin of the copy, which was inserted into the text by a later scribe. Holwerda seems to have had in mind the latter scenario when assuming intentional changes (see § 4.3.5), with the exception of his conjectures on Mark 1:1–3 (see § 4.3.4.3) and John 21:24–25 (see § 4.3.4.1).

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was jointly composed by several subsequent scribes (categorised as a two-phase improvement, but Holwerda words should be interpreted as 'two or more'); see for this conjecture § 4.3.4.3.

TABLE 8 *Types of operations*

	1 operation (74 cjs)	**2 operations (17 cjs)**	**3 operations (2 cjs)**	***Total* (*93 cjs*)**
Addition	12	4	0	16
Omission	18	5	3	26
Substitution	44	24	2	70
Transposition	0	1	1	2
Total	74	34	6	114

The third and last dimension of the classification is that of the proposed textual operation. Most of Holwerda's full conjectures (semi-conjectures do not play a role here, naturally), consist of one operation, but there are also 17 conjectures involving two operations, and even 2 involving three operations.[36] Table 8 shows the spread over the four types of operations for conjectures involving one, two and three operations.

Obviously, substitution is the category most used by Holwerda, with 70 out of 114 instances, with among the other 44 instances more omissions than additions; transpositions are rarely used by Holwerda.[37]

In Table 9, finally, the three dimensions according to which Holwerda's conjectures have been classified—problem, cause and operation—are related to one other. It uses only the 68 'simple' conjectures, involving only one problem,

36 The operations have been determined according to the following rules: 1) the operation is reported as executed on the reading Holwerda deemed most authentic (which is not always the Modern Critical Text); 2) operations are described as executed on words; 3) the criterion for kind of operation(s) is palaeography, not grammar; 4) if one word in the transmitted text is paleographically changed into two words in the conjecture, this is still one substitution; the same goes for more than one word in the Modern Critical Text into one word in the conjecture; 5) one omission/addition/transposition may involve more than one word; however, two sequences of words to be changed that are interrupted by text untouched means two operations; 6) substitutions are counted per word; an exception is made for the combination article + substantive, which is counted as one substitution; 7) in the case of a stemmatic problem, the first operation concerns the Modern Critical Text, the second the other reading.

37 The picture of Peerlkamp's NT conjectures is rather different, omission, substitutions and transpositions being used about as much (9, 9 and 8 times respectively), but hardly any additions being proposed (see van Beek, *Peerlkamp* [2015], pp. 137–139).

TABLE 9 *A three-dimensional characterisation of Holwerda's New Testament conjectural criticism*

	Misperception				**Confusion**				**Intentional**				***Total***
	A	**O**	**S**	**T**	**A**	**O**	**S**	**T**	**A**	**O**	**S**	**T**	
Philological	2	0	27	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	33
PR-style	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	0	8
PR-content	2	0	11	0	5	0	3	0	1	5	0	0	27
Total	5	0	38	0	6	1	3	0	1	13	1	0	68

one cause and one operation (with two or more problems, causes or operations the table would become too complicated).

Table 9 offers a single-glance fingerprint of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism. First, there appears to be a typical Holwerda conjecture: in 27 out of 68 cases (40%) Holwerda detects a philological problem, assumes misperception, and proposes a substitution. This archetype has a smaller sister, which has PR-content as problem (11 out of 68). Together, these conjectures take up 56% of all simple conjectures.

Interestingly, other causes appear to be connected to other problems and operations. Among the conjectures with an intentional problem, 13 out of 15 involve omission. Half of these intentional cause conjectures concern PR-style problems, which are nearly absent in conjectures based on other causes. By contrast, the philological problems, dominant as they are in misperception conjectures, are (naturally) almost absent in intentional cause conjectures. The 10 confusion conjectures show yet other preferences: here PR-content problems (8 times) and additions (6 times) are favourite.

Yet the restriction to simple conjectures distorts the picture somewhat. This is due to the exclusion of two-cause conjectures. Among these conjectures, intentional causes are much more common than unintentional causes (18 over against 7), with as typical case (6 times) the conjecture (only or partly) based on a PR-content problem, repair as second cause and as proposal a combination of operations.

4.3 Qualitative Analysis

4.3.1 *Introduction*

The results of the second step in the quantitative analysis—the classification of Holwerda's conjectures according to problems, causes and operations—will now be used to structure a detailed qualitative analysis of Holwerda's NT conjectures.

Holwerda's conjectures are discussed in their own right. The goal is to understand the conjectural criticism of the Dutch critic, and to see what he is actually doing when proposing conjectures. Still, the history of scholarship perspective demands that this chapter also relates Holwerda conjectures, mainly in footnotes, to other conjectures, manuscript readings unknown to Holwerda, and twentieth century exegetial and translation proposals. Sometimes there are reception-historical remarks as well. An extensive history of scholarship is provided in the discussion of two important Holwerda conjectures, those on 2 Cor 3:3 (accepted as text by Erwin Nestle) and 2 Pet 3:10 (re-invented by the editors of the *ECM*).

This section is organised as follows: in § 4.3.2, § 4.3.3 and § 4.3.4 all Holwerda's full conjectures are passed in review from the perspective of problems involved. Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 deal with the most frequent problems, PR-content and philological problems respectively; section 4.3.4 deals with all other problems.

The following three sections complete the picture of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism in three ways. They do so, first, by highlighting a group of conjectures that are scattered over the different problem sections but belong together from the perspective of cause—omissions of supposed glosses (§ 4.3.5, with Holwerda's 2 Cor 3:3 conjecture highlighted in § 4.3.5.2); second, by briefly discussing Holwerda's semi-conjectures (§ 4.3.6); and third, as the crowning touch, by extensively discussing Holwerda's 2 Pet 3:10 conjecture in the light of the history of scholarship on this passage from the nineteenth century until today (§ 4.3.7).

An unavoidable consequence of the way the conjectures are organised into groups here, is that some conjectures are mentioned in more than one section. This is due to the fact that some conjectures are based on more than one problem, and to the fact that § 4.3.5 discusses a group of conjectures from the cause perspective in addition to the comprehensive discussion from the problem perspective in the preceding sections. The reader is aided by cross-references and by the overview of Holwerda's conjectures appended to this book (Appendix 1); this overview includes classification and section numbers for all conjectures.

4.3.2 *Passage-Related* (*Content*) *Problems*

4.3.2.1 Introduction

Section 4.3.2 discusses a large group of conjectures. Therefore it is divided according to the different textual operations performed by Holwerda in order to restore the corrupt passages. Subsection 4.3.2.2 treats conjectured additions; § 4.3.2.3 lists conjectured omissions; the following two subsections deal with conjectured substitutions, which fall into a group of 'form change' conjectures (§ 4.3.2.4) and 'similar word' conjectures (§ 4.3.2.5); finally, § 4.3.2.6 considers three conjectures that change the transmitted text at two different positions.

4.3.2.2 Addition as Solution

As an example of an 'addition conjecture' on an inexplicable passage, Holwerda's proposal for John 8:25, which ended up in the apparatus of the Nestle editions (N[13]–NA[27]), may be discussed here at some length. George R. Beasley-Murray calls John 8:25[b] "the most obscure sentence in the Gospel and the most uncertain how to translate."[38] The words concern Jesus' answer to the question: "Who are you?", posed by 'the Jews'. According to the Modern Critical Text, Jesus' answer runs as follows: τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν.[39] The difficulties of this sentence become clear at once when comparing the choices made in different modern English Bible translations:

RSV:	Even what I have told you from the beginning.
NASB[2]:	What have I been saying to you *from* the beginning? (original italics)
NRSV:	Why do I speak to you at all?

To these may be added some scholarly proposals:[40]

38 Beasley-Murray, *John* ([2]1999), p. 125.

39 The Modern Critical Text prints a question mark after ὑμῖν. ℵ has the strange insertion of ἐν after καί. More interesting is the addition, written in the margin, to the text of 𝔓[66]: before τὴν ἀρχήν, εἶπον ὑμῖν should be read. Robert W. Funk probably was first to argue that the 𝔓[66] addition (which he thinks was in the exemplar of 𝔓[66]) is original ("Papyrus Bodmer II and John 8,25" [1958]). He translates John 8:25[b] in 𝔓[66] as: "I told you at the beginning what I am also telling you (now)" (p. 100).

40 Very recently, Hans Förster, following the interpunction in D05 and E07, has proposed to connect τὴν ἀρχήν to the preceding clause, leading to the following translation: "Sprach Jesus zu ihnen als Erstes: Das sage ich euch auch" (Förster, "Joh 8,25" [2016], p. 14).

Bernard: Primarily, I am what I am telling you.[41]
Barrett: (I am) from the beginning what I tell you.[42]
Caragounis: (I am) From the beginning!—precisely what I have been saying (speaking) to you.[43]

All the above translation options, and several more, Holwerda already found in the fourth edition of de Wette's *Kurze Erklärung* of the Gospel and the Letters of John, 'sehr vermehrt' by Benno Bruno Brückner.[44] Holwerda typically comments:

> One only needs to examine the different explanations of these words that scholars have attempted, to become convinced that they cannot be interpreted.[45]

The most important problem of John 8:25^{b} lies in the strange opening τὴν ἀρχήν (another, related problem is what to do with ὅ τι / ὅτι). In Holwerda's approach towards τὴν ἀρχήν one sees the commentary of de Wette and Brückner opened up before him.

The first choice de Wette makes is to interpret τὴν ἀρχήν adverbially (just like all the above twentieth-century translations), not as a substantive (as in the Vulgate: "principium quia et loquor vobis").[46] Holwerda does not even men-

41 Bernard, *John 2* (1929), pp. 301–302.

42 Barrett, *John* (1955), pp. 283–284.

43 Caragounis, "John 8:25" (2007). In an earlier publication, Caragounis hesitated between two other translations, namely "To start with, why am I speaking to you at all?" and "What I have been telling you (all along) from the very beginning" (cf. NASB^{2} in the main text above; Caragounis, *Development* [2004], p. 146).

44 De Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* (^{4}1852), pp. 151–153.

45 "Men beboeft de verschillende uitleggingen, die men van deze woorden beproefd heeft, slechts na te gaan, om de overtuiging te erlangen, dat zij niet te verklaren zijn" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 587).

46 In de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* (^{4}1852), p. 151. I can speak about "de Wette" saying this or that, because I have compared the fourth edition of the *Kurze Erklärung Johannis* to the second (de Wette, *Johannes* [^{2}1839]), in which Brückner was not involved yet. Besides, if Brückner does not agree with de Wette, or has a slightly different opinion, he brackets and signs his own contribution, leaving untouched de Wette's text (see Brückner's "Vorwort zur vierten Ausgabe," pp. 7–8). Interestingly, Holwerda consistently speaks about "Brückner" in his discussion of John 8:25, never mentioning de Wette. One is tempted to think Holwerda does not grant de Wette his approval to several exegetical choices here (cf. § 2.8.2).

tion this choice, but starts his discussion with the second choice de Wette sees himself confronted with: assuming that τὴν ἀρχήν is adverbial, does it mean as much as "in the beginning", or as much as "from the beginning" (cf. RSV, NASB^2, Barrett, Caragounis) and then perhaps in its metaphorical sense "at all" (cf. NRSV)?[47] The German exegete rejects the translations that take τὴν ἀρχήν to mean 'in the beginning', since these translations cannot do justice to λαλῶ being a present tense.[48] In Holwerda's text this judgment is represented by the remark: "That the first meaning cannot be applied here catches the eye immediately and easily."[49]

Then, should τὴν ἀρχήν be interpreted temporally as "from the (very) beginning" or emphatically as "at all"? Because the latter meaning requires a negation, de Wette thinks "überhaupt" is not fitting as a translation of τὴν ἀρχήν.[50] So only 'from the beginning' remains. De Wette therefore proposes as a translation of John 8:25^b: "Von vornherein (vor allen Dingen [?]) bin ich, was ich auch zu euch rede" (cf. Caragounis; question mark in original), tentatively having Jesus referring to his pre-existence.[51]

Holwerda also thinks a negation is required for the translation 'at all'.[52] For a conjectural critic, however, the absence of a required word is not necessarily a dead end. What is not in the text may have been in the text before it was corrupted:

> One almost cannot, therefore, doubt that οὐ or οὐκ has fallen out after ἀρχήν. However, then also a verb is lacking that is denied by οὐ or οὐκ, and on which the indirectly interrogative ὅ, τι καί depends. Who does not immediately think of ἔχω? Therefore originally the text seems to have been: τὴν ἀρχὴν (οὐκ ἔχω) ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν, i.e. *I do not know at all* (in our style: *truly*) *what I should say to you*. The idea is: "How can you ask who

47 Respectively "anfangs", "von vornherein" and "überhaupt" (de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* [^{4}1852], p. 151). Cf. Caragounis, "John 8:25" (2007), pp. 136–139, who also thinks these are the options one has here.

48 In de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* (^{4}1852), p. 152.

49 "Dat de eerste betekenis hier niet kan worden toegepast, valt spoedig en gemakkelijk in het oog" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 588).

50 In de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* (^{4}1852), p. 151. Brückner refines de Wette's remark about the circumstances under which τὴν ἀρχήν can mean 'at all': "Wenigstens muss der Gedanke verneinend sein" (p. 151).

51 In de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* (^{4}1852), p. 152; Brückner agrees with de Wette's translation, but not with the interpretation 'vor allen Dingen'.

52 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 588.

> I am? I have already made that known to you so clearly (vs. 24, e.g., ἐγώ εἰμι). If you still do not know who I am; then I do not know at all how to bring it home to you."[53]

The strength of this conjecture is that all problems of the little sentence are solved at once, and the restored saying fits the context perfectly. Unfortunately, however, in Holwerda's argumentation there is no attempt to explain how the words οὐκ ἔχω were lost (one word may easily fall out, but the plausibility that two words were lost needs to be argued by a critic).

Holwerda was not the first to try, notwithstanding the absence of a negation in the transmitted text, to translate τὴν ἀρχήν emphatically. Moreover, Holwerda may have been inspired by such an attempt by Friedrich Lücke, whose idea about John 8:25[b] was incorporated in de Wette's *Kurze Erklärung* by Brückner.[54] Lücke, who starts his twelve pages discussion of John 8:25 with the statement that in verse 25 "fast jedes Wort schwierig" is, proposes to translate: "Überhaupt warum rede ich nur noch zu Euch?" (cf. the NRSV).[55] Lücke thinks it is acceptable to translate τὴν ἀρχήν in the meaning 'at all'; the negation is in the rhetorical question.[56] Holwerda may have disapproved of this argument; moreover, Lücke's treatment of ὅ τι as an interrogative most probably was unacceptable to him.[57] Still, it is not implausible to suggest that Lücke's approach to John 8:25, consciously or subconsciously, shaped Holwerda's thinking about this verse.

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53 "Men kan er dus haast niet aan twijfelen, of achter ἀρχήν is οὐ of οὐκ uitgevallen. Maar dan ontbreekt er bovendien nog een werkwoord, dat door οὐ of οὐκ wordt ontkend, en waarvan het indirect vragende ὅ, τι καί afhangt. Wien komt daarbij niet dadelijk ἔχω in de gedachten? Zoo schijnt er dan oorspronkelijk gestaan te hebben, τὴν ἀρχὴν (οὐκ ἔχω) ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν, d.i. *Ik weet in het geheel* (in onzen stijl: *waarlijk*) *niet wat ik u toch zeggen moet*. … De bedoeling is deze: 'Hoe kunt gij vragen, wie ik ben? Ik heb u dat reeds zoo duidelijk te kennen gegeven (vs. 24 onder anderen met ἐγω [sic] εἰμι). Als gij nog niet weet, wie ik ben; dan weet ik in het geheel niet, hoe het u aan het verstand te brengen'" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 588).

54 In de Wette and Brückner, *Johannes* ([4]1852), p. 152.

55 Lücke, *Johannes 2* ([3]1843), e.g. p. 313.

56 Lücke's interpretation is in line with that of the Greek Fathers, most of whom took τὴν ἀρχήν to mean as much as ὅλως; see Caragounis, "John 8:25" (2007), pp. 129–130 n. 1. Lücke himself refers to Euthymius.

57 Winer rejected Lücke's proposal in his *Grammatik* ([5]1844) as violating the rules of NT Greek (p. 597). Caragounis thinks that at least John would have used τί if he had Jesus asking a question here ("John 8:25" [2007], p. 141).

Holwerda's conjecture had a moderate reception in the late Dutch nineteenth century.[58] However, for some reason, it was one of the more than hundred extra conjectures introduced into the thirteenth edition (1927) of Eberhard Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*—the first one edited by Nestle junior (Erwin). It would remain there until the 27th edition (1993). Unfortunately, the conjecture is reported incorrectly in the Nestle editions as οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι; in Holwerda's proposal, the last word is spelled ὅ τι, and only in this spelling does the conjecture make sense.

Other examples of adding words in order to make sense of a text regarded as inexplicable are Holwerda's proposals for Matt 9:33 (insert ὁ θεός after οὕτως),[59] Luke 2:42 (insert πρῶτον αὐτὸς συνανέβη αὐτοῖς after τῆς ἑορτῆς),[60] Luke 3:23 (insert ἀναδείκνυσθαι after ἀρχόμενος),[61] John 6:51 (insert ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω before ὑπέρ),[62] Acts 5:26 (insert μέντοι after οὐ),[63] 1 Cor 11:24 (insert διδόμενον after τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν),„[64] 2 Cor 12:1 (insert ἀναγκαῖον δέ· before ἐλεύσομαι)[65] and 2 Pet 3:10 (insert οὐχ before εὑρεθήσεται).[66]

4.3.2.3 Omission as Solution

Another group of too difficult passages Holwerda restores by *omitting* text. In Matt 16:11 he proposes to omit προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ

58 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen does not even discuss the proposed addition; de Koe rejects it (*Conjecturaal-critiek* [1883], pp. 123–125); Baljon refers to Holwerda's conjecture in the apparatus of his *NTG* (1898), judging: "Fortasse textus corruptus est" ("Perhaps the text is corrupt").

59 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 584–585. When Holwerda argues that ὁ θεός could easily have fallen out after οὕτως (p. 585), he probably has some phonetic variant of haplography in mind.

60 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 42–43.

61 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 585.

62 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 48–49. Holwerda's conjecture is, in fact, the 𝔐/TR reading. However, Holwerda expressly designates this reading as a conjecture. According to the definition of conjectural emendation used in the present study (the process by which a textual critic emends an allegedly corrupt text by advancing the supposedly original wording, which the critic presumes to be unattested, *or, in any case, not uninterruptedly transmitted*), Holwerda's proposal boils down to conjectural emendation.

63 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 78–79.

64 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 49, and "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 577.

65 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 593.

66 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 127–129; for an extensive discussion of this important conjecture, see § 4.3.7.

Σαδδουκαίων because the conjunction δέ is pointless.[67] The reference of 'the beginning' in Mark 1:1 ("The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ[, the Son of God]")[68] is rather unclear; since Holwerda detects no fewer than four other problems in the following verses, he proposes to omit Mark 1:1–3 altogether.[69] Luke 9:25 is better off without ἢ ζημιωθείς, since it is impossible to combine ζημιωθείς with ἑαυτόν (suffering loss 'regarding yourself'?).[70] In Luke 12:1 the explanation ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις for ἡ ζύμη τῶν Φαρισαίων is inappropriate: the leaven of the Pharisees is their teaching, not their hypocrisy (cf. Matt 16:12).[71] In John 19:29 (σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν· …) Holwerda notices two PR-content problems. First he asks: "Why on earth would the evangelist have defined the *amount* of sour present at Golgotha?"[72] He also finds it hard to imagine that the soldiers would have carried a jar brim-full (Holwerda's interpretation of μεστόν) of vinegar from Jerusalem to Golgotha.[73] 1 Cor 15:33 ("Do not be deceived: 'Bad company ruins good morals'") disturbs the flow of the argument.[74] In 2 Cor 3:3 the word καρδίαις is absurd,[75] as is the end of Jas 3:12 (οὔτε ἁλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ).[76] Finally, in 2 Pet 3:10 Holwerda thinks the exegetical confusion surrounding the word ἔργα is a bad sign.[77] Apart from Mark 1:1–3 (see § 4.3.4.3), all these conjectures also feature in the section about supposed glosses (§ 4.3.5).

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67 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 585. This argument is not provided by Holwerda himself, but by van de Sande Bakhuyzen, who also considers simply changing δέ into δή, but prefers Holwerda's conjecture (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 129).

68 As is well known, Codex Sinaiticus (and a few other manuscripts) leaves out the words υἱοῦ θεοῦ, but in Holwerda's day this problem was not felt yet.

69 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 49–51. See further § 4.3.4.3.

70 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 586. Holwerda does not refer to earlier proposals to omit ἢ ζημιωθείς, the *Urheber* probably being Zachary Pearce (see [cj10468]).

71 Holwerda, "Open brief" (1856), pp. 75–76. Holwerda does not refer to Pearce, who proposes the same (*Commentary 1* [1777], p. 377; see [cj11415]). For the other problems involved, see § 4.3.4.1 and § 4.3.4.2; see also § 4.3.5.

72 "Waartoe toch zoude de Evangelist de *hoeveelheid* van den azijn, op Golgotha aanwezig, hebben bepaald?" Holwerda, "Opmerkingen" (1854), p. 35; cf. *Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 28.

73 See Holwerda, "Opmerkingen" (1854), p. 34. In this conjecture Holwerda even points out a third problem, which is PR-style in nature; see § 4.3.4.1.

74 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 560.

75 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 109. This conjecture is treated extensively in § 4.3.5.2.

76 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 579; for the additional philological problem in this verse, see § 4.3.3.8.

77 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 128. This conjecture is unrelated to Holwerda's other 2 Pet 3:10 conjecture, the insertion of οὐχ before εὑρεθήσεται. See for both conjectures § 4.3.7.

4.3.2.4 Substitution as Solution 1: Form Change

In a few cases, Holwerda solves the problem by changing the form in which a word occurs in the transmitted text. Such a conjecture he makes, for example, on οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε in 1 Cor 3:4 (this conjecture was already touched on in § 4.2.3.1). Verse 4 forms a parallel structure with verse 3[b]:

> 3[b]
> A For as long as there is jealousy and quarreling among you,
> B are you not of the flesh (οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστέ), and behaving according to human inclinations (κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε)?
> 4
> A For when one says, "I belong to Paul," and another, "I belong to Apollos,"
> B are you not merely human (οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστέ)?

The attentive reader will have noticed that the NRSV takes some liberty at the end of verse 4. This freedom lies not so much in the insertion of 'merely', but especially in the translation of the substantive ἄνθρωποί by the adjective 'human'. Οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστέ; simply means "are you not human beings?" The Byzantine text reads οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστέ (repeating a phrase from the preceding verse), "are you not fleshly?", which shows that the Alexandrian-Western ending of verse 4 was regarded as awkward at an early stage. Of course Holwerda rejects the Byzantine reading; the attestation for οὐκ (Western: οὐχὶ)[78] ἄνθρωποί is superb. However, this text is "onverstaanbaar," incomprehensible. Yet, according to Holwerda, in the first century CE the upsilon (Y) was sometimes written in such a way that it looked very much like an iota (I).[79] One should therefore read οὐκ ἀνθρώπου ἐστέ, "are you not of a human being?," interpreted by Holwerda as "do you then not side with a human being?"[80]

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78 NA[28]: D06 F010 G012 629.

79 Holwerda says he once saw ΔЄΥΤЄΡΟΝ written as ΔЄΙΤЄΡΟΝ in a Herculaneum papyrus (*Bijdragen* [1855], p. 85). In the first volumes of *Mnemosyne* there are, in any case, plenty of conjectures based on the confusion of both letters (cf. Rutgers, "Index palaeographicus" [1859], p. 88).

80 "Houdt gij het dan niet met een mensch?" See Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 85. This conjecture of Holwerda was amongst those which attracted much attention already before the 1878 Teyler competition. It was rejected explicitly in the 1855 (negative) anonymous review in *Godgeleerde Bijdragen* (pp. 681–682; cf. Holwerda's response in "Antikritiek" [1855], p. 535), and afterwards also by two of the leading Dutch theologians of the second half of the nineteenth century, Scholten (*Inleiding* [^{2}1856], p. 272 n. 4; *Hervormde Kerk* 2 [^{4}1862],

Holwerda makes similar 'form conjectures' on Matt 27:16 (εἶχεν for εἶχον),[81] Mark 14:53 (αὐτῶν for αὐτῷ),[82] Phil 2:5 (φρονοῖτο for φρονεῖτε),[83] 2 Tim 2:25 (δώσει for δώῃ),[84] 1 Pet 3:21 (οὗ for ὅ)[85] and 1 Tim 2:15 (διὰ τὴν τεκνογονίαν for διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας).[86] The last conjecture differs from the preceding ones, since here not one, but two words—both substantive and article—are affected. The plausibility of such a corruption needs more argumentation than the unintentional change of a single syllable, which probably is the most common corruption one encounters in the manuscripts. Holwerda, however, does not provide any argumentation for the supposed change of τῆς τεκνογονίας into τὴν τεκνογονίαν. He cannot have been thinking of an intentional alteration, because he considers 1 Tim 2:15[a] as transmitted (τῆς τεκνογονίας, "[she will be saved] *through* childbearing") utter nonsense.[87] So his idea probably is that an unattentive scribe

p. 388 n. 1 [continued from p. 387]) and Hoekstra ("Status exinanitionis" [1860], pp. 221–222 n. 1). The common element in these rejections is that ἄνθρωπος is used negatively here (cf. NRSV's 'merely'). In my opinion, the strongest argument against Holwerda's conjecture is provided by Scholten, when he points to the connection between κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε in verse 3 and οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε in verse 4 (*Hervormde Kerk* 2 [^{4}1862], p. 388 n. 1 [continued from p. 387]). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century only van de Sande Bakhuyzen would approve of Holwerda's conjecture (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 248). Michelsen, however, was inspired to make his own conjecture here, ἀνθρώπινοι, "human" ("Conjecturaal-kritiek" [1881], p. 168; see [cj10934]). This is indeed what one would expect Paul to have written if he wanted to say what most translations and exegetes make him say (cf. also Rom 6:19, 1 Cor 2:13, 4:3, 10:13).

81 Holwerda, "Opmerkingen" (1854), pp. 40–41.

82 Holwerda, *Xenophontis Hellenica* (1866), pp. 36–37. Note that the word αὐτῷ is absent in the Modern Critical Text, but present in B (and 𝔐).

83 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 593.

84 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 27–32.

85 Holwerda, "1 Petr. III:18–IV:6" (1862), pp. 490–491. Holwerda was not aware of the fact that 'his' conjecture already had a long history, with as probable *Urheber* Patricius Junius in 1642 (see [cj12463]).

86 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 86.

87 "That the woman will be saved *through* childbearing is an idea so strange that it certainly cannot have occurred to anyone" ("Dat de vrouw *door* het kinderbaren behouden zal worden, is een denkbeeld zóó vreemd, dat het zeker in niemands hoofd kan zijn opgekomen" (original italics); Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 86). Σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας is a classical *crux interpretum*, with multiple exegetical traditions that, according to Christopher R. Hutson, all have their drawbacks ("Saved through childbearing" [2014], pp. 392–393). Hutson himself recently proposed a fresh exegesis of the expression, which takes into account "emerging Jewish tradition about why women die in childbirth" ("Saved through childbearing" [2014], p. 409).

copied διά and, although the exemplar continued with an accusative (τὴν τεκνογονίαν, "[she will be saved] *for the sake of* childbearing"), he simply picked the wrong case. Such sloppy copying was, in Holwerda's idea of the early transmission, more the rule than the exception.

Two other conjectures involving a form change suggest an even more drastic corruption. In Acts 18:5 Holwerda subsitutes συνεῖχε τὰ τοῦ λόγου for συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ. First τοῦ λόγου was changed unintentionally into τῷ λόγῳ (a case of 'similarity [sound]' abundantly attested in the manuscripts); subsequently someone tried to save the grammar by copying the active συνεῖχε with its object τά as the passive συνείχετο ('repair' in terms of the classification). This resulted in the strange remark that Paul was "(op)pressed by the Word" (literal translation of the MCT reading), whereas Luke wrote that he "pursued powerfully the things of the Word" (my translation of Holwerda's conjecture).[88]

In Mark 15:36 Holwerda proposes to read καὶ ἔλεγον instead of λέγων (in combination with the variant reading ἄφες instead of TR/MCT ἄφετε), so that Jesus on the cross is mocked by the bystanders, and not by the one who gives him wine to drink.[89] Holwerda does not explain how λέγων was changed into καὶ ἔλεγον, but maybe he felt less obliged to so because he could point at versional 'attestation' for his proposal: the Peshitta reads ܐܡܪܘ, which is the third-person perfect plural (masculine) of ܐܡܪ (peal).[90] Holwerda considers the reading of the Peshitta 'evidence' of a Greek manuscript that read καὶ ἔλεγον.[91]

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88 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 82–84. Holwerda acknowledges that the conjecture συνεῖχε τό τοῦ λόγου would be closer to the transmitted text. However, according to Holwerda, Acts never uses τό in such constructions, but τά, in contrast, very often (p. 84). This demonstrates Holwerda's zeal to do justice to the author, in this case at the cost of a more convincing scenario of corruption.

The Byzantine text has πνεύματι for λόγῳ, testifying to an early struggle with the Alexandrian-Western reading emended by Holwerda. BDAG, s.v. συνέχω, 6, mentions as a translation possibility of συνέχομαί τινι 'to be occupied with' or 'to be absorbed in', with Acts 18:5 as the sole NT example (cf. NRSV: "was occupied with proclaiming the word").

89 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 14–20.

90 Philip Edward Pusey and George Henry Gwilliam (*Tetraevangelium sanctum* [1901]) mention some Peshitta manuscripts that apparently reflect attempts to bring the Syriac back into conformity with the Greek singular. The Old Syriac (Sinaiticus) has ܐܡܪܐ, which only differs from Peshitta's ܐܡܪܘ in that it is a feminine form.

91 Holwerda is aware of the fact that a Syriac perfect tense normally reflects a Greek aorist tense, not an imperfect tense (*Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 18; cf. Brock, "Limitations" [1977], p. 91). However, he rightly points out that the Peshitta is not consistent in its dealing with Greek tenses of the verb λέγω (*Aanteekeningen* [1853], p. 18. cf. Brock, "Limitations" [1977],

This conjecture touches upon the question whether versional 'attestation' cancels the conjectural nature of a textual proposal. An important consideration here is that such a versional reading may in fact be a conjecture itself. As Holwerda puts it, regarding the Vulgate reading 'habebat' which coincides with his conjecture εἶχεν for εἶχον in Matt 27:16 (mentioned earlier in this section): "Whether this translation originates in a correction, or proves the existence of a reading εἶχεν, is difficult to tell."[92] However, in the case of Mark 15:36 Holwerda is confident that the Peshitta reading is not a conjecture itself, but reflects the lost original reading. This evaluation of Peshitta's reading is undoubtedly connected to the early date that was assigned to the Peshitta in Holwerda's days (third century, instead of today's fifth century).[93]

4.3.2.5 Substitution as Solution 2: Similar Word

In other inexplicable passages Holwerda does not change the form of a word, but replaces the transmitted word by another word, which looks and/or sounds similar. A well-known example is a conjecture probably first made by Patricius Junius in the seventeenth century, but afterwards 're-invented' several times, also by Holwerda. The text concerned is 1 Tim 5:13. In verse 11ª Timothy

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p. 96). Therefore he feels free to regard καὶ ἔλεγον as the Greek text translated by the Peshitta. Though Holwerda thus has made clear why it it *possible* that Peshitta's ܐܡܪܝܢ reflects καὶ ἔλεγον, he does not explain why καὶ ἔλεγον is *more plausible* than καὶ εἶπον (εἶπαν) as the Greek *Vorlage*. Probably Holwerda prefers καὶ ἔλεγον because it is the more appropriate tense in the context of the story (cf. ἔλεγον in vs. 35).

92 "Of deze vertaling alleen aan eene correctie haren oorsprong verschuldigd is, dan of zij het bestaan eener lezing εἶχεν bewijst, is moeijelijk uit te maken" (Holwerda, "Opmerkingen" [1854], p. 41).

93 See e.g. Doedes, *Verhandeling* (1844), p. 365. The position that versional support in all cases cancels the conjectural character of a textual proposal unattested in the original language has been taken most remarkably in the Utrecht dissertations by Franssen (*Beoordeeling* [1885]) and van der Beke Callenfels (*Beoordeeling* [1885]). Both Franssen and van der Beke Callenfels refuse almost categorically to discuss textual proposals that have an equivalent in old translations. One cannot escape the impression that their choice of this standpoint is related to the practical profit it yielded: it meant that both had to discuss about fifty conjectures fewer in their respective dissertations. Another motive for denying a proposal the status of conjecture may play a role when editors adopt a conjecture into the text of their editions: referring to versional 'attestation' looks more solid than referring to a conjectural critic. For this phenomenon, see further n. 376 in this chapter. The Amsterdam research group has decided to include in its database all textual proposals for which the only support is provided by old translations, referring to such support in the records concerned.

is advised to deny an official 'widow position' in the church to younger widows. Verses 11b–15 contain the argumentation for this advice. In verse 13 the writer states that younger women who are sustained by their church ἀργαὶ μανθάνουσιν περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας. If the verb μανθάνω, 'to learn', is connected to a participle, it means 'to perceive, remark, notice'.[94] Holwerda therefore translates the clause in 1Tim 5:13 as: "they notice that they go around from house to house idly,"[95] which is a rather awkward expression. The Vulgate already avoided the problem by translating: "otiosae *discunt* circumire domos," 'they *learn* to go around from house to house idly'. The Dutch States Translation similarly has: "*leren* zij ledig omgaan bij de huizen." Such a translation, however, requires the Greek to have an infinitive complementing μανθάνω, not a participle.[96]

Therefore another exegetical tradition was more dominant in Holwerda's days (and still is today). In this tradition, μανθάνουσιν is connected, not to περιερχόμεναι, but to ἀργαί. This can already be found in the KJV, which has: "they learn to be idle, wandering about from house to house." Winer proposed this interpretation,[97] as well as Huther, who commented upon the Pastoral Epistles in Meyer's *Kritisches Exegetisches Kommentar*.[98] This scenario is not unproblematic either, because the Greek should have an accompanying infinitive (like the English: 'learn *to be* idle').[99]

Holwerda opposes a specific form of this interpretation, one in which μανθάνουσιν is taken as equivalent of διδάσκονται: 'they *teach* to be idle, going around etc.'[100] Holwerda denies that μανθάνω can mean as much as διδάσκω.[101] Without discussing the more common interpretation as reflected by the KJV, Holwerda puts forward his own idea about the text.

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94 LSJ, s.v. III.2.

95 "[T]evens bemerken zij, dat zij ledig de huizen rondgaan" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 593).

96 LSJ, s.v. I.

97 Winer, *Grammatik* (^{6}1855), pp. 310–311.

98 Huther, *Timotheus und Titus* (^{2}1859), p. 171.

99 Blass conjectures εἶναι was accidentally dropped in the early transmission (*Grammatik* [^{1}1896], p. 241; see [cj13927]). Bauer mentions ζῆν as an alternative conjecture (*Wörterbuch* [^{5}1958], cc. 969–970).

100 Holwerda does not mention specific scholars who propose this interpretation. He does, however, discuss specific references to classical literature brought forward by such scholars.

101 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 593–594.

> Could not 1Tim 5:13 be easily helped by reading ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀργαὶ λανθάνουσιν περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας, i.e. *they also idly go around from house to house, nobody being aware of it*?[102]

Holwerda's conjecture involves the change of a single letter, from μανθάνουσιν into λανθάνουσιν. In combination with a participle λανθάνω is usually translated as an adverb (LSJ: 'unawares, without being observed'),[103] the participle becoming a finite verb in translation ('they go around'). Now one no longer needs to make an exception to a grammatical or lexical rule; connecting λανθάνουσιν instead of μανθάνουσιν to περιερχόμεναι results in a meaningful sentence.[104]

Holwerda makes similar conjectures on Mark 14:72 (ἐκβαλών for ἐπιβαλών),[105] Luke 14:5 (οἷς or ὅϊς for υἱός),[106] and 1Cor 15:1 (δή for δέ).[107] His proposals for Matt 14:3 and Acts 27:27 belong to the same category, but are also special cases. In these two cases Holwerda emends a reading of Codex Vaticanus that is not our Modern Critical Text (cf. the final paragraph of § 3.5.3).

In Matt 14:2 Herod Antipas wonders whether Jesus may be John the Baptist raised from the dead. Since John the Baptist was still alive the last time Matthew told about him (11:2), the evangelist decides to use a flashback and relate how John died. Matt 14:3 starts with ὁ γὰρ Ἡρῴδης κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην ("For Herod had arrested John") and then follows the story of Herodias' daughter who gets John's head on a platter. Now in Matt 14:3 B and some other witnesses (NA[28]: Θ

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102 "Zoude 1 *Timoth*. V:13 niet eenvoudig te helpen zijn door te lezen: ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀργαὶ λανθάνουσιν περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας, d.i. *tevens loopen zij, zonder dat men er erg in heeft, ledig de huizen rond?*" (original italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 594).

103 S.v. A.2.

104 Λανθάνουσιν for μανθάνουσιν would become a well-known conjecture in the twentieth century, being one of the seventeen conjectures that received an authenticity marker in the thirteenth to sixteenth Nestle editions. For a rejection, see e.g. Walter Lock, *Pastoral Epistles* (1924), p. 61. BDAG (s.v. μανθάνω, 3) remarks that ἀργαὶ μανθάνουσιν περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας "presents many difficulties fr. a linguistic point of view," and refers to the conjecture options of inserting εἶναι or ζῆν (see p. 164 n. 99) and changing μανθάνουσιν into λανθάνουσιν.

105 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 587.

106 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 53–54, and *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 83. Although Holwerda speaks about this proposal as "my conjecture" ("mijne conjectuur", *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 83), it was first proposed by John Mill (spelling ὅϊς; "Prolegomena" [1707], p. xliv c. b; see [cj10707]).

107 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 90–94.

f^{13} 700 l2211 sa mae) have τότε before κρατήσας, which is very strange, because it puts Matt 14:3 on the same point in the timeline as Matt 14:2 (Herod thought Jesus was John raised from the dead, because *at that time* he arrested him).

This is a typical text-critical dilemma: the text with τότε obviously is the *lectio difficilior*, and should be considered seriously for that reason, especially since it finds support in B and the Coptic tradition. On the other hand, τότε is so problematic that its adoption would result in an untranslatable text. For that reason the B reading, as far as I can see, has been unanimously rejected in NT editions; indeed, I have not found it discussed anywhere. However, how does one account for the insertion of τότε, given the fact that is completely out of place here? The scholar who has conjectural emendation in his tool box sees a rather easy way out of the dilemma; Holwerda suggests that τότε needs to be changed into πότε: 'For Herod had formerly arrested John …'[108]

The second example of Holwerda applying the 'similar word procedure' to a B reading that is not our Modern Critical Text concerns Acts 27:27: "When the fourteenth night had come, as we were drifting across the sea of Adria, about midnight the sailors suspected …". What did the sailors suspect? The Modern Critical Text follows the 𝔐 text (supported by, notably, A and C) in printing προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν. Προσάγω would have been used here in the meaning 'to approach':[109] the sailors suspected 'that land was approaching them' (NRSV: "that they were nearing land"). However, B* has the singular reading προσάχειν, which is a non-existing verb. Instead of regarding the B reading as a scribal slip for προσάγειν, Holwerda conjectures it is an erroneous copy of προανέχειν (the 𝔐 reading, on this assumption, correcting the B one): the sailors suspected land was 'emerging from the front'.[110]

In such 'B conjectures', Holwerda follows a Cobetian guideline, namely not to despise even the most absurd errors in the older manuscripts. These can contain traces that lead the textual critic to the original reading.[111]

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108 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 585; mentioned by van Manen (Conjecturaal-kritiek [1880], p. 168), rejected by Franssen (Beoordeeling (1885), pp. 79–80). Holwerda's conjecture is supported by word statistics: πότε is only used 5 times in the Modern Critical Text of Matthew, all occurrences coming *after* 14:3; τότε, by contrast, occurs as often as 89 times (30 occurrences before 14:3). Therefore scribes copying Matthew were more 'predisposed' to see or hear τότε than πότε.

109 See s.v. προσάγω, 2.a. In all other occurences in the NT the verb means 'to bring into someone's presence, bring (forward)' (see s.v. 1).

110 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 591. Cf. the reading of B^2: προσανέχειν. Other variant readings are προαγαγεῖν (ℵ*) and προσεγγίζειν (NA^{28}: 614 1505 2147).

111 See e.g. Naber, *Vier tijdgenooten* (1894), pp. 207, 309.

Other examples of similar word conjectures are Holwerda's proposals for 1 Thess 3:3 (μηδὲν ἀναίνεσθαι for μηδένα σαίνεσθαι)[112] and John 2:25 (καθότι for καὶ ὅτι).[113] In these two cases, the ending of a first and the beginning of a second word (in the transmitted text) are both affected by the emendation. Other conjectures affecting more than one word are less subtle. In Luke 18:7, Holwerda proposes to change the second occurrence of καί into κἄν = καὶ ἐάν; the mood of the following μακροθυμεῖ, then, needs to be changed as well: μακροθυμῇ.[114] Another example, that will be discussed more fully here, is Holwerda's proposal for Matt 8:9.

In Matt 8:9, the centurion, who in the preceding verse has shown great faith ("only speak the word, and my servant will be healed"), says to Jesus:

> I also am a man **under authority** (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν),[115] with soldiers under me; and I say to one, 'Go,' and he goes, and to another, 'Come,' and he comes, and to my slave, 'Do this,' and the slave does it.

Holwerda is one of the many scholars in history who regard ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν in this verse as corrupt (see fns. 119, 124 and 125 in this section): for the point the centurion tries to make, it seems irrelevant that he himself is 'under authority' as well. Holwerda proposes to read ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας,[116] and to translate the sentence as follows: "For I, a human being (γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός), do have unlimited authority (καὶ … εἰμι ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας)".[117] Holwerda's idea is that the centurion points out that if he, a mere human being, already possesses the authority to have people do what he wants, how much authority would Jesus, who is more than a human being, not possess? This interpretation is interesting, but how does Holwerda

112 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 123–125; cf. the many other conjectures on this word in the Amsterdam Database.

113 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 66–68, and *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 84. This conjecture was also proposed, without reference to Holwerda, by Alexander Pallis (*John and Apocalypse* [1926], p. 5).

114 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 560–561; repeated in *Xenophontis Hellenica* (1866), p. 70. Cf. 𝔐 καὶ μακροθυμῶν.

115 א and B (supported by the Sahidic, Bohairic and Old Latin versions) have added after ἐξουσίαν the word τασσόμενος, "*set* under authority". Τασσόμενος is generally considered a harmonisation with Luke 7:8 (see main text below).

116 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 582–584.

117 "want ik, een mensch, bezit wel … eene onbeperkte macht" (Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 583).

think the supposedly original ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας changed into the transmitted ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν? Here, as in his conjecture on 1 Tim 2:15 (see § 4.3.2.4), a change merely through misperception is not impossible, but not very plausible either: not only the preposition but also the case of ἐξουσία supposedly changed.[118] However, Holwerda does not say a word about it.[119]

Holwerda's conjectural criticism of the centurion's words becomes really problematic the moment he proposes exactly the same conjecture for the parallel passage in Luke.[120] In Luke 7:8 the words ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν are followed by the word τασσόμενος: "*set* under authority".[121] Therefore Holwerda's conjecture here involves not only the change of two words, but also the omission of a third one. On how this corruption happened, Holwerda again leaves his readers in the dark.

Another, even more urgent question is left unanswered as well: why were the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke corrupted in similar fashion? Holwerda works with the traditional assumption of mutual independency of the Gospels.[122] Therefore, within his framework, it is not possible to assume that a corruption occurred in the text of one gospel at such an early stage that it ended up in the original text of another gospel.[123] In fact, neither would most modern scholars suppose such a scenario, that is, if both Matthew and Luke are

118 Interestingly, Beza already made a similar conjecture, but he left the case unchanged: ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίαν (*Annotationes* [^{1}1556], p. 335r; see [cj10134]). This conjecture, which in terms of corruption scenario stands a better chance, was preferred to Holwerda's proposal by Pallis (*Mark and Matthew* [1903], p. 35; *Mark and Matthew* (*New Edition*) [1932], pp. 73–74). Pallis acknowledges that Holwerda's genetive is the case one would expect here, but thinks the accusative is acceptable as an early witness to the gradual extrusion of the other oblique cases by the accusative (cf. Jannaris, *Grammar* [1897], § 1246). As examples of the confusion of ὑπό and ἐπί Pallis points to variant readings in Matt 28:14 and Mark 4:21.

119 Holwerda could have argued that an original ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας changed, through misperception, into ὑπ᾽ ἐξουσίας, and that a second scribe subsequently 'repaired' this grammatically wrong construction by changing ἐξουσίας into ἐξουσίαν.

120 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 582–584.

121 A few manuscripts (Ti^{8}: 33 69 242 *l*50) omit τασσόμενος; Holwerda is not aware of this.

122 Nowhere does Holwerda clearly state his opinion about the synoptic problem. However, in *Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 19, he betrays his view on the matter. There he remarks that it is surprising that both Matthew and Mark fail to mention why Jesus was given wine to drink at the cross, evidently not reckoning with the possibility that the one evangelist used the other one as a source.

123 This is exactly what Pallis proposes, suggesting that Luke found in Matthew the corruption ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν and added to this τασσόμενος (*Luke and Acts* [1928], pp. 12–13); cf. n. 118 in this section.

involved. The dominant Two Sources Hypothesis holds Luke and Matthew to be independent of each other, their non-Marcan common material being derived from a common source—Q. Conjectural emendation on the disputed words in both Matt 8:9 and Luke 7:8, would, within the framework of the Two Sources Hypothesis, boil down to a supposed corruption in Q. But it is out of the question that Holwerda is thinking along such lines. If pressed, he would probably have argued for an early corruption in the one gospel followed by a harmonisation towards this corruption in the other one. Despite the poor argumentation, Holwerda's conjectures on Matt 8:9 and Luke 7:8 would have a fruitful reception history.[124]

4.3.2.6 Two-Track Solutions

All the above conjectures, though often concerning more than one word, involved the change of text at a single point in a sentence. In three cases, however, Holwerda proposes to make textual changes at two different points in a sentence; these changes are meaningful only in combination.

1 Cor 16:2 begins as follows: "On the first day of the week, each of you is to put aside and save (τιθέτω θησαυρίζων);" then follows the object clause ὅ τι ἐὰν εὐοδῶται. Ἐάν is the reading of Codex Vaticanus and some minuscules;[125] all other

124 Holwerda's conjectures were accepted by Franssen (*Beoordeeling* [1885], pp. 44–46) and adopted into the text of Baljon's *NTG* (1898). Naber, trying to make sense of the transmitted τασσόμενος in both Luke and the Alexandrian text of Matthew, emended Holwerda's emendation proposing ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας **διατασσόμενος** ("Δεύτερον" [1878], p. 361. This conjecture was accepted by van de Sande Bakhuyzen [*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], pp. 122–123; see [cj10695] and [cj13622]). Michelsen, finally, looks somewhere else for a solution. In both Matthew and Luke he accepts both ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν and τασσόμενος. He drops, however, εἰμι and changes ἔχων into ἔχω (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος, ἔχω …—"for I, though merely a human being subjected to other powers, also have …"; "Coniecturaal-critiek" [1881], p. 157; see [cj12295] and [cj13623]).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Adalbert Merx, apparently unaware of the above Dutch conjectural criticism, came with another proposal for Matt 8:9, based on the Old Syriac Gospels translation and an early-fifth-century Syriac manuscript of Eusebius' *Theophany*: ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ. Merx accepts ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος in Luke 7:8, and explains the transmitted text of Matt 8:9 as the result of harmonisation to Luke 7:8 (*Evangelien 2.1* [1902], pp. 36–37; see [cj13764]). According to Günther Zuntz, who supports Merx' conjecture and further elaborates Merx' argumentation of corruption through Lucan influence ("Centurion" [1945], pp. 183–190), Merx' conjecture is essentially the same as Holwerda's conjecture (p. 184).

125 Ti[8] mentions 016 and 0121, CNTTS 1735 and 1962.

manuscripts have ἄν, which is also Tischendorf's text reading, and the reading Holwerda comments upon.

The passive of εὐοδόω generally means 'to prosper, succeed' (lit. 'being good-way-ed').[126] Applying this meaning here is problematic: the relative pronoun ὅ τι can only be the subject of εὐοδῶται. Should one, then, save 'whatever prospers'? Van Hengel had proposed to translate "as much as he can."[127] Holwerda wonders why, had Paul wanted to convey such a thing, he would not have written simply ὅ τι ἂν δύναται. Therefore he prefers to emend the text as follows (changes in bold type): τι τιθέτω (or θέτω) θησαυρίζων, **ὅταν** εὐοδῶται: "put aside and save **something**, **whenever** he prospers" (my translation). This time, Holwerda provides a clear scenario of corruption. At first, τι fell out before τιθέτω (haplography), or τι θέτω was misunderstood as τιθέτω, leading to the absence of an object for θέτω/τιθέτω θησαυρίζων. Therefore, in second instance, ὅταν was changed into ὅ τι ἄν to provide for such an object.[128]

The second example of a two-track solution concerns Rom 12:3: "For by the grace given to me I say," Paul writes, and then follows a phrase with two seemingly unrelated barbarisms: παντὶ **τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν** μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν **παρ' ὃ δεῖ** φρονεῖν–"to anyone **who is among you** that he should not think too highly of himself, **beyond what he should think**" (my translation). Both clauses have separately been the object of conjectural emendation. The strange τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν (often translated as if Paul merely wrote ὑμών or ἐν ὑμῖν) was emended subtly by Herman Venema: one should read παντὶ τῷ ὄντι **τι** ἐν ὑμῖν–'anyone who is **something** (important, influential; cf. Gal 2:6, 6:3) among you'.[129] The tautological παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, on the other hand, was regarded a gloss to ὑπερφρονεῖν by Baljon, who overlooked the Western omission of the clause (Ti^{8}: F010 G012 70 f g).[130]

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126 See LSJ and BDAG s.v.

127 "hetgeen hij vermag," van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), p. 122. Modern Dutch translations generally have something similar to van Hengel's proposal, e.g. the NBV has 'naar vermogen'.

128 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 108–109. Holwerda apparently did not know that 'his' Vaticanus reads ἐάν instead of ἄν, although he could have found this information in Ti^{2}. However, had he known this reading, it probably would not have bothered him: the B reading can be seen as an early (though failed: the problem with ὅ τι remains) attempt to restore the text corrupted by haplography and subsequent mending.

129 In Verschuir, "Coniecturae criticae (1810)" p. 391; also mentioned in the Nestle editions (in N$^{3–10}$ anonymously, in N^{11}–NA^{27} under Venema's name); in the Dutch nineteenth century accepted by many (see [cj10301]).

130 Baljon, *Tekst* (1884), pp. 26–27. In his *NTG* (1898) Baljon does print as text παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, in the apparatus qualifying his conjecture, as well as Venema's, as "fortasse" ("maybe").

Holwerda came across an equivalent of Venema's conjecture in the famous Bible translation of one of his Leiden professors Johan Hendrik van der Palm, who, whether by adopting Venema's proposal, or by independent thinking, had Paul saying in Rom 12:3: "anyone who is [*something*] among you."[131] Holwerda thinks this translation and the underlying conjecture point in the right direction. However, he comes up with an emendation that at the same time solves the second problematic expression in the phrase (Holwerda does not refer to the Western omission of παρ᾽ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν). "Maybe," he suggests, "Paul wrote: λέγω—παντὶ τῷ **ὑπερέχοντι** ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ **φρονεῖν** παρ᾽ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν"[132]—'I say … to each who is **highly placed** among you, not to **think** beyond what one should think' (my translation). Holwerda moves the prefix of ὑπερφρονεῖν to ὄντι, by means of which the sentence is normalised at both positions. At first sight this conjecture commends itself by the beauty of its simplicity.[133] Yet Holwerda needs an extra change to make the transposition of ὑπέρ work (ὑπερέχοντι). Probably Holwerda assumed a similar course of events as for 1Cor 16:2: after the transposition of ὑπέρ, the nonsensical ἔχοντι was reduced to ὄντι. Holwerda's reference to Rom 13:1, where Paul speaks about the government using the word ὑπερεχούσαις, at least shows that Paul could use the participle of ὑπερέχω to denote people with a position.[134]

The third example of Holwerda emending an inexplicable text at more than one position is his proposal for 1John 5:14–15. Since here a philological problem is involved as well, this conjecture is discussed in § 4.3.3.3.1.

131 "een' iegelijk, die [*iets*] is onder u." In van der Palm, *Bijbel 3: NV* (1830); original brackets and italics. Holwerda also refers to Johann Benjamin Koppe, who suggests, taking his cue from the use of τὰ μὴ ὄντα and τὰ ὄντα in 1Cor 1:28, to interpret παντὶ τῷ ὄντι as παντὶ τῷ δοκοῦντι εἶναι τι (Koppe and von Ammon, *NTG 4* [^{2}1806], p. 266 c. a).

132 "Welligt heeft Paulus geschreven: λέγω—παντὶ τῷ **ὑπερέχοντι** ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ **φρονεῖν** παρ᾽ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν …" (my emphasis; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 592).

133 In his unpublished *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1879) Michelsen calls Holwerda's proposal the "most shrewd of all conjectures" ("scherpzinnigste aller coniecturen," part II, pp. 24–25). Later, Michelsen withdraws his support for Holwerda's conjecture, instead preferring, with Baljon, the omission of παρ᾽ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν ("Kritisch onderzoek (1)" [1886], p. 383).

134 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 592. I have not found any scholar who accepts Holwerda's conjecture.

4.3.3 *Philological Problems*

4.3.3.1 Introduction

In Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism, philological problems feature just as frequently as PR-content problems do. Philological problems include both lexical and grammatical problems, though the latter are much more frequent in Holwerda's conjectural criticism.

Below two types of philological problems are elaborated extensively: the confusion of εἰς and ἐν (§ 4.3.3.2) and the confusion of indicative and subjunctive (§ 4.3.3.3). Then two sections discuss more briefly some other philological conjectures, namely με for ἐμέ (§ 4.3.3.4) and κἄν for καί (4.3.3.5). Finally, Holwerda's conjectures involving lexical (§ 4.3.3.6), syntactical (§ 4.3.3.7) and other philological problems (§ 4.3.3.8) are touched on.

4.3.3.2 Confusion of εἰς and ἐν

4.3.3.2.1 *Problematic εἰς*

In Koine Greek, there is a tendency towards the overlap of the semantic domains of prepositions.[135] One of the most frequent examples of this phenomenon in NT Greek, especially in Mark, Luke and Acts,[136] is the use of εἰς for 'spatial' ἐν.[137] Although in the first half of the nineteenth century there definitely was an awareness that Koine Greek in general, and NT Greek in particular, had its peculiarities,[138] this specific peculiarity was not understood well yet. Winer offered a difficult explanation of the phenomenon. According to him, in cases of εἰς when ἐν is expected, the accompanying verb that denotes 'rest', always implies a preceding 'motion', which is reflected in the use of εἰς.[139] Likewise, van Hengel writes in *Proeve* that in Mark 1:39 and Luke 4:44 the meaning of εἰς differs so subtly from ἐν that it cannot be expressed in a Dutch translation.[140] In *Betrekking*, in response to this remark, Holwerda expounds his view on the NT εἰς for ἐν passages. This view is, rather straightforwardly, that εἰς can never be interpreted as spatial ἐν. If the manuscripts offer both possibilities, one

135 E.g. Wallace, *GGBB* (1996), pp. 362–363.

136 Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf, *Grammatik* ([14]1975), § 205.

137 Wallace, *GGBB* (1996), p. 363; cf. Jannaris, *Grammar*, § 1538, § 1547, § 1548. In Modern Greek εἰς has completely absorbed spatial ἐν; the latter preposition is even no longer used at all in vernacular Greek (Jannaris, *Grammar* [1897] § 1547, § 1564; Horrocks, *Greek* [1997], p. 194).

138 See e.g. Winer, *Grammatik* ([1]1822), pp. 9–25.

139 Thus from the second edition of his *Grammatik* (1825) onwards (pp. 161–162).

140 Van Hengel, *Proeve* (1852), pp. 68–69. Cf. also e.g. de Koe (1883), pp. 28–34.

should not print the *difficilior* εἰς, something which Holwerda saw Tischendorf doing several times, but adopt the 'correct' ἐν.[141]

The first example Holwerda puts forward to sustain his ideas is Mark 2:1. Here it is said about Jesus that, when he returned to Capernaum, 'it was reported that he was *at home*'. The Textus Receptus, supported by the majority of manuscripts (including A and C), here has εἰς οἶκον, whereas B and D05 (as well as some later manuscripts)[142] have ἐν οἴκῳ. Lachmann of course adopted this reading in his 1831 edition (cf. § 3.2.3), but in 1849 Tischendorf had still printed the received text (only when he learned that 'his' Sinaiticus had ἐν as well, would he print this reading, in his *Octava*).[143] For Holwerda it is evident that the B reading should be preferred: the best manuscript has the correct reading. By "accident or mistake"[144] a scribe changed ἐν οἴκῳ into εἰς οἶκον, which reading happened to become the common text.

According to Holwerda, such unintentional changes from ἐν into εἰς are attested abundantly in the manuscripts,[145] for which reason manuscript attestation in these cases hardly carries any weight.[146] So even when the 'incorrect' reading is supported by the best manuscripts, one should adopt the 'correct' reading:

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141 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 27–28.

142 Codex Sinaiticus and the fourth-century 𝔓88 (containing Mark 2:1–26) also appeared to have ἐν οἴκῳ.

143 The dilemma *lectio difficilior* versus superior attestation was also felt by the UBS committee. Although it eventually adopted as text ἐν οἴκῳ, part of the committee preferred εἰς οἶκόν as "less literary and in the Markan style" (Metzger, *Textual Commentary* [^{1}1975], p. 77).

144 "toeval of vergissing," Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 27 ('language error' in our classification). On p. 28 Holwerda speaks about the ῥᾳθυμία (LSJ s.v.: "indifference, sluggishness, laziness, heedlessness, rashness") of the scribes causing this confusion of prepositions (cf. the quotation of Origenes on p. 125 n. 106).

145 Holwerda (*Betrekking* [1853], p. 27) shortly refers to an example of the grammatically 'worse' reading being secondary, which is, in fact, more convincing than Mark 2:1. In Acts 21:11, Agabus foresays how Paul will be bound by the Jews ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ. The unproblematic preposition is attested by all manuscripts except D05, the seventh-century 𝔓74 and a few minuscules (see NA28 and Ti8). These manuscripts read εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ. Holwerda's attention is drawn to this case, because in 1849 Tischendorf, mistakenly thinking Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus also has εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, adopts this *lectio difficilior* as text in his *NTG*. In his *Septima* Tischendorf would return to ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ (and in his *Octava* he would correctly mention C as supporting this reading), but for Holwerda the 1849 choice demonstrates Tischendorf's consistent application of the principle of the harder reading in εἰς for ἐν cases.

146 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 24.

Luke 4:44: εἰς τὰς συναγωγάς is superiorly attested
ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς is to be adopted
Acts 7:12: εἰς Αἴγυπτον is superiorly attested
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ is to be adopted
Acts 9:26: εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ is superiorly attested
ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ is to be adopted[147]

From here, it is a small step towards full-blown conjectural emendation: even when every known manuscript contains an 'incorrect' εἰς, this preposition should not be accepted as text. In John 1:18 it is said about the 'only begotten Son' that he is εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός–'in the bosom of the Father' (RSV).[148] Here the nineteenth-century 'solution' to assume that a preceding motion is alluded to becomes problematic; one ends up, for example, with Meyer's interpretation of εἰς as expressing the motion of the exaltation of Christ.[149] Holwerda, not surprisingly, did not want to resort to such speculations. His *dictum* is, again, that the clause in John 1:18 as transmitted by the manuscripts is "onzin," nonsense. Therefore he conjectures ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ πατρός.[150] In his pursuit of this kind of grammatical correctness, Holwerda clearly follows in the footsteps of Cobet.

4.3.3.2.2 *Problematic ἐν*

All the examples Holwerda discusses in *Betrekking* concern the use of εἰς for ἐν. However, in Koine Greek the use of ἐν for εἰς with verbs of motion is attested as well.[151] In this case one can speak of an extension of an elliptical use of ἐν that is already attested in Homeric and Classical Greek with verbs of motion such as βάλλω and ῥίπτω. In Koine Greek, this use is extended to verbs of 'coming' and 'going'.[152] In the New Testament, one notices such a use of ἐν a few times, sometimes rivalled by εἰς as variant, sometimes unrivalled.[153] Winer's explanation

147 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 27. According to Holwerda in all these cases Tischendorf adopts the εἰς reading (as the Modern Critical Text does). In the 1849 edition, however, Tischendorf prints ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ at Acts 9:26 (yet his *Octava* here reads εἰς as well).

148 Holwerda could not know yet that the purple parchment minuscule 565 here has the singular reading ἐν τοῖς κολποῖς (see VMR).

149 Meyer, *Johannes* (^{2}1852), p. 60.

150 See Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 26–27; repeated in Holwerda, "Rom IX:5" (1858), p. 87 n. 1. I do not know of any author who has approved of this conjecture.

151 E.g. Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1549 and § 1557.

152 LSJ, s.v. ἐν, A.I.8.

153 E.g. Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf, *Grammatik* (^{14}1975), § 218.

mirrors the less plausible one he gives for εἰς instead of ἐν: "Von der Bewegung nach einem Orte hin wird ἐν blos bei solchen Verbis gesetzt, die schon das Erreichen des Ziels und das Verweilen dabei includiren."[154] This is more or less similar to LSJ's interpretation of the construction: "[ἐν] in a pregnant construction with verbs of motion, *into*; implying both *motion to* and subsequent *position in* a place."[155]

In *Betrekking* Holwerda already shows that he is aware of ἐν for εἰς, because when he makes general statements about the interchange of εἰς and ἐν, he refers to both directions: neither εἰς for ἐν, nor ἐν for εἰς is acceptable.[156] In *Aanteekeningen* and *Bijdragen* he discusses cases of ἐν for εἰς. In the latter publication, in the context of a text-critical discussion of Luke 23:39–46, Holwerda points to verse 42. Here the repentant criminal asks Jesus: "Jesus, remember me when you come *into your kingdom*". The Textus Receptus, supported by nearly all known manuscripts, reads ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, but B and L019 (and 𝔓[75]) have εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου.[157] Griesbach, Lachmann and Tischendorf knew this reading—today's Modern Critical Text[158]—but favoured the harder ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.[159] Holwerda, as a matter of course, prefers the B reading.[160] Then, just like in his discussion of εἰς for ἐν in *Betrekking*, he takes a step further.

Matt 16:28 resembles Luke 23:42. In Matt 16:28 Jesus speaks about the coming of the Son of Man ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Except for some late witnesses that come up with various attempts to polish a text that apparently was regarded as awkward,[161] this is the reading of all manuscripts. Interpreted in isolation, one would tend to think this is a case of Koine ἐν for εἰς. But since the preced-

154 Winer, *Grammatik* (²1825), p. 159.

155 S.v. ἐν, A.I.8.

156 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 24,28.

157 See NA[28], where the attestation of sa[mss] and bo[pt] is mentioned as well.

158 The committee interprets ἐν as a preposition of 'accompanying circumstance' (see the discussion of Matt 16:28 following directly in the main text), and thinks ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου is not consonant with Lukan theology; this reading would reflect a developed interest in the eschatological kingdom (Metzger, *Textual Commentary* [²1994], p. 154).

159 This reading is still preferred by the NET, which has 'in your kingdom'. They do not argue, however, that ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου is a case of Koine ἐν for εἰς; instead, they refer to Jesus' ἐν τῷ παραδείσω in the next verse (but there the preposition is accompanied by a verb that denotes rest, εἰμί).

160 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 75–76.

161 See Strutwolf and Wachtel, *ECM Parallelperikopen* (2011), p. 90 c. a. The most modest modification is the substitution of δοξῇ for βασιλείᾳ (31 732 1279 1338 1692 2546), "in his glory" (cf. vs. 27). This textual change nicely dovetails with the interpretative strategy commonly adopted by exegetes (see main text below).

ing verse speaks about the eschatological coming of the Son of Man as a judge 'in (ἐν) the glory of his Father', the traditional interpretation of ἐν as a preposition of 'accompanying circumstance' ('amidst your kingdom') is still upheld today.[162] Holwerda does not even refer to this exegetical tradition. He simply takes Matt 16:28 to be just another example of the ἐν-εἰς confusion among scribes. He reasons: if in Luke 23:42 the authentic εἰς survived in only very few manuscripts, would it not be possible that in Matt 16:28 the authentic εἰς did not survive at all? He thinks so, and conjectures εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου (thus disconnecting verses 27 and 28).[163]

Holwerda makes similar conjectures on Acts 13:5 (εἰς Σαλαμῖνα for ἐν Σαλαμῖνι)[164] and Luke 23:19 (ληφθείς ἐν for βληθείς ἐν),[165] whereas he presents as 'diagnostic' his more drastic conjecture on Luke 4:1 (ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον· καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ for ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ).[166]

4.3.3.2.3 *Interpretation*

Just like other scholars of his age, Holwerda was well aware that NT Greek could not be measured by classical standards. But some things were simply unbearable for him.[167] The interchange of εἰς and ἐν was one such thing. The alternative to conjectural emendation available to Holwerda, the explanations by Winer (vindicated as far as ἐν for εἰς is concerned, far-fetched indeed concerning εἰς for ἐν), were too speculative for Holwerda. Besides, the fact that 'wrong' prepositions sometimes had a weaker manuscript base than the variant 'right' ones counted for Holwerda as proof for a scenario in which the sloppiness of scribes led to incorrect prepositional clauses. Therefore he was willing to reject the better manuscripts when they had the 'wrong' preposition—to that end he was even willing to reject an unanimous attestation. Holwerda's conjectures

162 See e.g. Meyer, *Matthäus, Markus und Lukas* (1832), pp. 119–120; Hagner, *Matthew 14–28* (1995), pp. 486–487. Cf. also the parallels Mark 9:1 and Luke 9:27.

163 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 76. Rejected by Franssen, *Beoordeeling* (1885), pp. 87–88.

164 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 76 n. 1.

165 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 25–27.

166 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 57–58.

167 E.g. about the Greek of Luke: "I would be the last to contend that he wrote good Greek; I even cannot admit that, as is held generally, his language and writing style compare so very favourably with those of the other Hellenists; but this does not mean he would have used all kinds of barbarisms" ("Ik voor mij wil misschien minder nog, dan iemand anders, beweren, dat hij goed grieksch geschreven heeft; ik kan zelfs niet toegeven, hetgeen men gewoonlijk gelooft, dat zijne taal en schrijfwijze zoo bijzonder gunstig bij die der overige hellenisten afsteken; doch daaruit volgt nog niet, dat hij allerlei barbarismen zoude hebben gebruikt"; Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* [1853], p. 22).

regarding ἐν and εἰς reveal influence from Cobet, who also was willing to emend several passages with the same grammatical mistake at once, assuming that scribes tend to make the same grammatical mistakes all the time.[168]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a major change occurred in the study of language. Language came to be seen as history, as a living organism, continually changing, involving periods of transition.[169] In the Koine period the prepositions εἰς and ἐν in their local meaning were in such a transition, both prepositions being used for both motion and rest. That in many unclassical uses of these prepositions in the New Testament there is a variant reading with the classical prepositional clause does not show the former to be the result of sloppiness; it merely testifies to Atticism among copyists of the New Testament.[170] Therefore, in his emendations on εἰς and ἐν clauses Holwerda has been overtaken by time.

4.3.3.3 Confusion of Indicative and Subjunctive

4.3.3.3.1 *Problematic Indicatives*

Another development in the Greek language concerns the use of moods after conjunctions with ἄν such as ὅταν and ἐάν. Whereas the general rule in classical Greek is that these conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive,[171] from Hellenistic times onwards they came to be accompanied by indicative forms as well. This was caused by the fact that they gradually became identical in meaning to their ἄν-less sisters (that go with the indicative): ὅταν could be used for ὅτε, ἐάν for εἰ, etc.[172] In late antiquity ὅτε and εἰ disappeared altogether from the living language; they were no longer needed now that ὅταν and ἐάν could be used instead.[173]

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168 See e.g. Schouten, *Het Grieks* (1964), p. 179; cf. Sandys, *History 3* (1958), p. 285.

169 See e.g. Robertson, *Grammar* (1914), pp. 31–36.

170 Cf. Turner, "Marcan usage 2" (1924), pp. 12–20, who concludes, on the basis of an analysis of classical ἐν for εἰς in Codex Vaticanus' Gospel of Mark: "the scribe of codex B or its ancestor, admirable as is his general fidelity, did not rise superior to the temptation of altering an incorrect idiom into accordance with the traditions of literary Greek" (p. 20).

171 See e.g. Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1967 and § 1997.

172 See e.g. Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1987. Jannaris only speaks about ἐάν and ὅταν followed by a *past* indicative form, but his examples in fact do include present (e.g. 1John 5:15 ἐὰν οἴδαμεν in § 1987) and future forms (e.g. Acts 8:31 ἐὰν … ὁδηγήσει in § 1991, which is the text reading in NA$^{26–28}$; Jannaris in fact prefers the variant reading ὁδηγήσῃ, which has become the text reading in the *ECM*). BDAG provides several examples of ἐάν and ὅταν being followed by indicative forms of all tenses in Koine texts (both NT and profane writings).

173 Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1990.

Because in most of the MCT passages that have an ἄν conjunction followed by an indicative there is a TR variant reading that has the 'correct' combination (offering the other mood or the other conjunction), the issue only rose to the surface expressly in the nineteenth century. Tischendorf printed as text many indicatives instead of TR subjunctives.[174] In the sixth edition of his *Grammatik* (1855), Winer registered a few such 'exceptions', without further commenting on the phenomenon.[175] For Holwerda the indicative after an ἄν conjunction was unacceptable. The only indicative he accepts after an ἄν conjunction is the typical Koine imperfect or aorist of repetition after ὅταν (e.g. Mark 3:11: ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν, "whenever they saw him").[176]

Yet Holwerda rejects Tischendorf's printing of ὅταν in combination with past indicatives in Mark 11:19 (MCT: ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο; TR: ὅτε ὀψὲ ἐγένετο) and Rev 8:1 (MCT: ὅταν ἤνοιξεν; TR: ὅτε ἤνοιξεν),[177] blaming the scribes for changing ὅτε into ὅταν.[178] He also rejects Tischendorf's printing of the future indicative δώσουσιν (MCT and TR) after ὅταν in Rev 4:9, being indecisive as to which variant reading should be preferred instead, δῶσιν or δώσωσιν.[179] Concerning present indicatives, Holwerda regrets Tischendorf's changing the Textus Receptus of Luke 6:34, ἐὰν δανείζητε, into ἐὰν δανείζετε (MCT: δανίσητε),[180] and the Textus Receptus of Mark 11:25, ὅταν στήκητε (also B), into ὅταν στήκετε (MCT).[181]

Inevitably, Holwerda's firm conviction that there can be no exceptions to the rule that ἄν conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive leads to conjec-

174 In the *prolegomena* of his NT editions Tischendorf draws the attention of the readers to this matter, e.g. in Ti^2, p. xxvi.

175 Winer, *Grammatik* (^{6}1855), p. 264. On the same page Winer does already rightly point out that in Hellenistic Greek there is no difference in meaning between εἰ with the indicative and εἰ with the subjunctive (see next subsection). In the previous edition of his grammar, Winer is not yet aware of the mode confusion, introducing the section on "hypothetischen Sätzen" with the reassuring: "Wenden wir dies [the rules of classical Greek] aufs N.T. an, so finden wir hier alles regelmässig" (*Grammatik* [^{5}1844]).

176 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 103–104. Cf. LSJ, s.v. ὅταν, I.2.

177 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 106.

178 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 105. On pp. 105–106 Holwerda emends some LXX and profane passages that attest the use of an ἄν conjunction with a past indicative, one of these conjectures being made by Cobet.

179 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 107–108.

180 When ℵ appeared to join B in reading δανίσητε, Tischendorf decided to switch over to this reading in his eighth edition. In the twentieth century $\mathfrak{P}^{45vid}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75vid}$ were also added as witnesses for the Modern Critical Text (see CNTTS).

181 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 100–102.

tural emendation. In Mark 13:7, there is, in fact, a 'correct' reading, namely the overwhelmingly attested ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσητε (TR and MCT). In Holwerda's day, however, the B reading was held to be ὅταν δὲ ἀκούετε; Tischendorf had even adopted this reading into the text of his *Editio secunda*. Since Holwerda cannot imagine that precisely the best manuscript would attest to an apparently intentional change of the correct subjunctive (ἀκούσητε) into the incorrect indicative (ἀκούετε), he thinks something else has happened. Mark wrote a *present* subjunctive, ἀκούητε, which was easily corrupted into the B reading ἀκούετε. Ἀκούσητε should be regarded as a subsequent correction of the B reading, perhaps derived from the parallel Luke 21:9.[182] Today Codex Vaticanus is, in fact, known to have Holwerda's conjecture, ἀκούητε, whereas f^{13} has the reading formerly attributed to B, ἀκούετε (see NA[28]).

1John 5:14–15 requires more creativity. Here ἐάν is used three times, two times followed by a proper subjunctive, once, however, by a present indicative:

> Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ παρρησία ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς αὐτόν ὅτι **ἐάν**[183] τι **αἰτώμεθα** κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν. 15 καὶ **ἐὰν**[184] **οἴδαμεν**[185] ὅτι ἀκούει ἡμῶν ὃ **ἐὰν**[186] **αἰτώμεθα**, οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ αἰτήματα ἃ ᾐτήκαμεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
>
> And this is the boldness we have in him, that **if we ask** anything according to his will, he hears us. 15 And **if we know** that he hears us **in whatever we ask**, we know that we have obtained the requests made of him.

The construction ἐάν οἴδαμεν in verse 15 is the only instance in the Johannine literature of ἐάν being followed by an indicative rather than a subjunctive.[187] Given the fact that the two other verbs following ἐάν in this passage are proper subjunctives, its occurrence here is even more remarkable. For Holwerda, however, there is not only a philological problem. He also senses a PR-content problem in verse 14, where the main clause says that it is our boldness that he

182 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 101.

183 A reads ἄν.

184 B 1838^{txt} read ἄν (Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [^{2}2013]).

185 Unfortunately, ℵ* and A leave out 1John 5:15/2–12 because of homoeoteleuton. The second corrector of Siniaticus inserted the lost words, at the same time solving the grammatical problem by changing οἴδαμεν into the singular reading ἴδωμεν. A similar solution can be found in 400 1270 1297 2544, which have εἴδωμεν; see Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* (^{2}2013).

186 A B *pc* read ἄν (see Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [^{2}2013]).

187 Smalley, *1, 2, 3John* (1984), p. 296.

listens to us. Does that make sense? Besides, the textual situation of verse 13 is a mess (see NA[28]). In short, for Holwerda 1 John 5:13–15 is one of those passages that "suffered much".[188] He concludes:

> Although it is not possible to repair the passage by an evident correction, a not implausible conjecture may cast light on the nature of the corruption that we have to deal with. Perhaps John wrote: Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ παρρησία ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι **οἴδαμεν, ὅτι** ἐάν τι αἰτώμεθα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐὰν **ἀκούῃ** ἡμῶν ὃ ἐὰν αἰτώμεθα, οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ αἰτήματα ἃ ἠτήκαμεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.[189]

Holwerda transposes the third and fourth word of verse 15, οἴδαμεν ὅτι, to the middle of verse 14. By doing so, he pulls away from ἐάν the indicative οἴδαμεν; in the new situation, the second occurrence of ἀκούει in verse 15 becomes attached to ἐάν. Of course ἀκούει is an indicative as well, but here the change into the subjunctive ἀκούῃ is merely an editor's finishing touch. Thus the philological problem is solved. At the same time, the PR-content problem is solved: instead of the vague "this is the boldness … that he hears us," the latter part now is now changed into "that we know that he hears us." At the same time, verse 15 seems to get along without the first occurrence of "we know that": "And if he hears us in whatever we ask, we know that we have obtained the requests made of him."

However shrewd Holwerda's transposition, there is no straightforward explanation for the words οἴδαμεν ὅτι being copied a few words too late. Holwerda realises that his conjecture is not 'evident', and therefore introduces it as a so-called 'diagnostic' conjecture ("may cast light on the nature of the corruption").[190] Still, he cannot entirely suppress his satisfaction, qualifying his proposal as "not implausible."[191]

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188 "veel … geleden" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 103).

189 "Het is niet wel mogelijk de plaats door eene evidente correctie te herstellen. Eene niet onwaarschijnlijke conjectuur moge dan den aard der corruptie, met welke wij hier te doen hebben, in het licht stellen. Welligt schreef Joannes: …" (my emphasis; Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 103).

190 Cf. e.g. Paul Maas, *Textkritik* ([4]1960), p. 32.

191 Van de Sande Bakhuyzen seems to agree with Holwerda that the passage is corrupt (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 302). Baljon is inspired by Holwerda to make another conjecture, one that only solves the philological problem: the substitution of the subjunctive εἴδωμεν for the indicative οἴδαμεν ("1–3 Johannes—Judas" [1893]; cf. the manuscript attestation mentioned in n. 185 in this section).

Unrelated to the mode confusion after ἄν conjunctions is Holwerda's conjecture on Acts 21:26. Paul entered the temple "making public the completion of the days of purification when the sacrifice would be made for each of them": διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγνισμοῦ ἕως οὗ **προσηνέχθη** ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἡ προσφορά. Holwerda thinks the indicative προσηνέχθη is inappropriate: the sacrificing cannot be stated as a fact. Therefore he proposes to read the subjunctive προσενεχθῇ, which is, actually, the Greek underlying most modern translations ("*would be* made").[192]

4.3.3.3.2 *Problematic Subjunctives*

As described above, in Koine Greek ἄν conjunctions came to be used with the indicative. In this phase of overlapping usage, leading to the extinction of εἰ and ὅτε, the other way around happened as well: εἰ and ὅτε were sometimes used, instead of respectively ἐάν and ὅταν, with the subjunctive.[193] In the NT writings as transmitted, some examples of εἰ with the subjunctive can be observed.[194] One of these cases is Luke 9:13, εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν, "unless we go and buy." Here Holwerda, almost in passing, reads ἀγοράσομεν: "It is well-known, and also said quite often, that in such cases the codices have no authority."[195]

In another case, Holwerda does not correct an unclassical combination of conjunction and mood, but an apparently wrong use of a 'right' combination, namely ὅταν ὄψησθε in Luke 13:28. "There will be weeping and gnashing of teeth," says Jesus in Luke 13:28, "when you see (ὅταν ὄψησθε) Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrown out." The problem here is that the subjunctive in such temporal clauses points to a future action that *may* take place. In Luke 13:28, however, the action concerned—the evildoers seeing Abraham etc.—will *definitely* take place. Hol-

192 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 590–591; the same conjecture was already made by Lachmann, Holwerda being unaware of this; see [cj10893]. Holwerda found his conjecture in the apparatus of Ti^{7} as attested by 105 = GA 242, considering this manuscript reading a succesful conjecture, whether or not by accident. NA^{28} mentions the following minuscules as supporting προσενεχθῇ: 323 945 1739 1891.

193 Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1990.

194 E.g. Robertson, *Grammar* (1914), p. 1017. In the Modern Critical Text of the New Testament one also finds one case of ὅτε with the subjunctive, namely Luke 13:35/28–34, ἕως [ἥξει ὅτε] εἴπητε, but this passage is very uncertain: most of the better manuscripts leave out ἥξει ὅτε (𝔓^{75} B L) or substitute ἄν for it (𝔓^{45} **א**); see NA^{28}.

195 "Het is bekend, en ook reeds dikwijls genoeg gezegd, dat de codices in dergelijke gevallen geen gezag hebben" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 44).

werda also points out another problem: if ὄψησθε was indeed written by Luke, it would be an exceptionally early instance of the aorist middle of ὁράω, which is a Byzantine phenomenon.[196] For these reasons, Holwerda proposes to read ὅτε with the future middle ὄψεσθε[197]—a conjecture that was accepted by several Dutch critics.[198]

Holwerda realises that some will think such a conjecture is rather pointless because it does not affect the translation, and remarks:

> Now it is to be expected that some will despise this emendation as trifling and of little importance. We think we may remark that we are only after the principle here. In simple passages one can, if both sides are honestly searching for truth, reach agreement most easily. Besides, as is well-known, in criticism one should consider nothing trifling.[199]

Holwerda made many philological conjectures, whereas most of his other conjectures are not spectular in terms of the resulting change in meaning. Indeed, Holwerda did not consider anything trifling in his conjectural criticism.

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196 For the middle aorist of ὁράω, BDAG (s.v.) refers to the same source from which Holwerda knew about this gramatical phenomenon, Lobeck's annotated edition of Phrynichus' *Eclogae* (*Phrynichi Eclogae* [1820], p. 734).

197 Holwerda knew the manuscript reading ὅταν ὄψεσθε, but instead of considering this reading to be a connection between his conjecture and the TR reading, he saw it, surprisingly, as a corruption of the TR reading. Interestingly, eventually B* appeared to have ὅταν ὄψεσθε as well. Tregelles (*GNT 2* [1861]) and Tischendorf in his eighth edition preferred this reading, whereas Westcott and Hort put it in the margin of their text (*NT: Text* [^{1}1881]). Perhaps 𝔓^{75}'s support for ὅταν ὄψησθε was decisive for the adoption of this reading into the Modern Critical Text.

198 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 21–24; Holwerda defends his conjecture again in "Opmerkingen" (1854), pp. 29–31, and *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 83. The conjecture was accepted by van Vloten and van de Sande Bakhyzen and adopted into the text of Baljon's *NTG* (1898); see further [cj10706].

199 "Het laat zich verwachten, dat sommigen nu deze emendatie als gering en weinig beduidend zullen verachten. Wij meenen te mogen opmerken, dat het ons hier alleen om het beginsel te doen is. Bij eenvoudige plaatsen kan men het, wanneer men van beide zijden opregtelijk waarheid zoekt, het gemakkelijkste met elkander eens worden. Ook weet men, dat men in de critiek niets moet gering achten" (Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* [1853], p. 24).

4.3.3.3.3 *Interpretation*

Holwerda's resistance to wrong combinations of conjunction and mode can be interpreted along the same lines as his resistance to the exchange of ἐν and εἰς, namely as the application of Leiden criticism to a phenomenon that was not yet understood. There was not yet a grand narrative of the Greek language such as the one provided by Jannaris, in which grammatical phenomena are described as changing over time, with periods of transition in which both old and new constructions feature at the same time and place. By the time Holwerda writes his NT 'debut' *Betrekking* (1853), in which he goes into the matter at length, there is only a textual critic who simply prints the 'wrong' modes as *lectiones difficiliores* (Tischendorf). Too difficult to accept, even if all manuscripts have this reading, says Holwerda after the fashion of Cobet, with whom he discussed such grammatical problems.[200]

Still, two of Holwerda's 'conjunction-mode conjectures' are not implausible after all. In Mark 13:7 his proposal ἀκούητε, which turned out to be the B reading, may very well be original, with ἀκούετε (*f*[13]) as corruption and ἀκούσητε (TR/MCT) as repair of this corruption. And his conjecture ἀγοράσομεν for ἀγοράσωμεν in Luke 9:13 is just a matter of editorial freedom.

Two other mode conjectures, those on Luke 13:28 (ὅτε ὄψεσθε for ὅταν ὄψησθε) and Acts 21:26 (προσενεχθῇ for προσηνέχθη) have nothing to do with the conjunction-mode confusion. In my opinion, both proposals should be taken seriously today as well.

4.3.3.4 'Εμέ Expected, με Transmitted

Holwerda was well aware that in ancient Greek writings as transmitted the enclitic με is sometimes used emphatically.[201] However, he believed that in several of these instances με is unacceptable and should be changed into the emphatic form ἐμέ; he provides examples in Sophocles and Euripides.[202]

In the NT manuscripts Holwerda encounters the με / ἐμέ problem in three forms: first, με and ἐμέ as rival readings after πρός; second, με after a word that ends in an epsilon, which makes it possible to read it either as με or as ἐμέ; third, με unanimously attested after a word that does not end in an epsilon. In the first case, Holwerda adopts ἐμέ, all the more since this is the B reading most of

200 Cf. e.g. Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 105 n. 1.

201 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 127. In fact this goes for all enclitic forms of the personal pronouns, see e.g. Kühner and Gerth, *Grammatik 2.1* (³1898), § 454, Anmerk. 4, and for the New Testament Robertson, *Grammar* (1914), pp. 681–682.

202 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 128.

the time;[203] in the second case Holwerda prefers ἐμέ to με;[204] in the third case Holwerda feels free to make a conjectural emendation, substituting ἐμέ for με. He does so in Matt 11:28 ("Come to *me*, all you …"), John 10:14, 10:15, 15:16, 17:5, and 18:21.[205] In one case, Holwerda makes a conjecture while there was, in fact, attestation, namely in John 6:65/24 (C and later also ℵ).[206]

Holwerda assumes a sliding scale of emphasis; he can accept that enclitic pronouns are used when there is a little emphasis, but he cannot accept their use when there is full emphasis. Apparently, especially the manuscripts of the Gospel of John are guilty of such an unacceptable use of the enclitic pronoun—of με, to be precise. Indeed, it is remarkable that while John normally uses ἐμέ, in a few cases when there is clearly full emphasis all manuscripts read με.

Holwerda's με-conjectures are, again, a clear example of Cobet's influence. Besides that, the fact that Codex Vaticanus most of the time reads πρὸς ἐμέ when there is a variant reading πρός με must have confirmed Holwerda in his opinion that με with full emphasis is unacceptable.

Interestingly, πρός is the only preposition in the New Testament that has given rise to a confusion of enclitic and emphatic forms in the manuscripts.[207] The preference for πρὸς ἐμέ in the Alexandrian text of John may exemplify the tendency towards grammatical correctness in this text form. Or πρὸς ἐμέ is original and has given rise to πρός με due to scribal error: προσεμε easily becomes προσμε.[208] In the Modern Critical Text the editors apparently have not made a fundamental choice regarding this confusion: if both variants are well attested, sometimes πρὸς ἐμέ is preferred, sometimes πρός με, obviously

203 In *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 128–129, Holwerda gives as examples a few instances in John 6 and 7: 6:35/28 (Ti^2: με; MCT ἐμέ), 6:37/28 (Ti^2: με; MCT: ἐμέ), 6:44/10 (Ti^2: ἐμέ; MCT: με) 6:45/42 (Ti^2: με; MCT: ἐμέ), 7:37 (Ti^2: με; MCT: με). All these cases concern με / ἐμέ after πρός. This sample again nicely illustrates Tischendorf's far-reaching faith in Codex Sinaiticus (cf. p. 120 n. 92): in all five cases his choice in Ti^8 differs from his choice in Ti^2, due to what he found in ℵ (with an omission of the clause in John 7:37).

204 E.g. in John 10:15/6 (cf. [cj11960]), 14:7/6, 15:9/6 (in combination with the TR reading ἠγάπησέ) and 20:21/22 (in combination with the TR reading ἀπέσταλκέ); see Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 129–130.

205 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 129–130.

206 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 129. Tischendorf failed to mention the C reading in his 1849 edition (he had transcribed it correctly in his *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus NT* [1843]). When ℵ appeared to have ἐμέ as well, Tischendorf adopted this reading in his *Octava*. The Modern Critical Text still reads με.

207 See e.g. Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf, *Grammatik* ([14]1975), § 279,2.

208 So Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 129.

on external grounds.[209] In my opinion, editors should not pander to all the whims of the manuscripts; in situations like these, they should take their editorial responsibility and consistently print within one biblical book either πρὸς ἐμέ or πρός με, even if this means making a conjecture here and there. Indeed, here modern NT editors can learn from Holwerda.

4.3.3.5 Κἄν for καί

A final case of 'one conjecture fits all' is Holwerda changing καί into κἄν (καί ἐν) in Matt 12:21, Luke 7:17, Acts 10:39 and Rom 9:25.[210] Matt 12:21 𝔐/MCT (καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν) is the only instance in the New Testament of ἐλπίζειν in the meaning 'put one's confidence in someone or something' without preposition.[211] Holwerda's proposal to read κἄν was accepted by Friedrich Blass.[212]

In Luke 7:17, Acts 10:39 and Rom 9:25 Codex Vaticanus has καί over against the majority of manuscripts reading καί ἐν. If the Vatican readings were original, this would mean the locative dative (peculiar to poetry)[213] is used in the New Testament, which seems implausible to Holwerda.[214] Holwerda probably considers the majority reading καί ἐν to be a correction of the Vatican καί (which is a faultily copied κἀν). Interestingly, the Modern Critical Text chooses, just like in the πρός με / πρὸς ἐμέ variation, differently in each instance: in Luke 7:17 καί, in Acts 10:39 καί [ἐν], in Rom 9:25 καί ἐν.

4.3.3.6 Lexical Problems

Holwerda proposed a few conjectures aimed at solving lexical problems. One of these, Holwerda's emendation ἀπέχον for ἔχον in Acts 1:12, became well-known because it was adopted into the thirteenth Nestle edition, and remained there until NA[27]. In Acts 1:12 the Mount of Olives is said to be ἐγγὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν: "near Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey away." Though it

209 See the five examples mentioned in n. 203 in this section and Acts 23:22, where the Modern Critical Text reads πρός με.

210 See Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1866), p. 560, and *Hellenica* (1866), p. 70.

211 See BDAG s.v. 1.c. Cf. however LSJ, s.v. 4, where (besides Matt 12:21) a similar example from Thucydides is provided.

212 Blass, *Grammatik* (¹1896), p. 19 n. 3.

213 See Jannaris, *Grammar* (1897), § 1390.

214 BDR, § 199, also denies the locative dative in the New Testament, without paying attention to Luke 7:17, Acts 10:39 and Rom 9:25. Robertson, by contrast, mentions several passages (not the three emended by Holwerda) that should prove the occurrence of the locative dative in the New Testament; see Robertson, *Grammar* (1914), p. 521.

is evident that ἔχον should be interpreted as 'being away from', this is not a regular meaning of the verb ἔχω;[215] the appropriate verb is ἀπέχω.[216] Therefore Holwerda simply proposes to read ἀπέχον.[217] Other such 'lexical problems' occur in Mark 1:4 (ἐγένετο cannot mean 'he appeared')[218] and Mark 1:5 (the expression ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα overcharges the lexical possibilities of the word χώρα).[219]

4.3.3.7 Syntactical Problems

As to the other philological conjectures, many of these solve syntactical problems. Matt 21:16 and Jas 3:12 have a syntactically inappropriate use of the words ὅτι and οὔτε respectively.[220] In Mark 14:3 τε should be inserted after συντρίψασα, or otherwise there is an unacceptable asyndeton.[221] In Luke 12:1 and John 19:20 Holwerda thinks two respective clauses have impossible positions in the sentence and should therefore be omitted as glosses: ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις wedges apart τῆς ζύμης and the accompanying subjective genitive τῶν Φαρισαίων (Luke 12:1);[222] and τῆς πόλεως is too far away from the preposition (ἐγγύς) it belongs to (John 19:20).[223] In 1 Cor 15:36 the position of σύ before the relative pronoun ὅ is unacceptable as well; it should be seen as a miscopy of οὐχ.[224]

Several other syntactical conjectures pertain to a B reading that is not the Modern Critical Text. The B reading of Luke 9:12 misses article and conjunction,

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215 LSJ does not hint at such a meaning anywhere in the long list of meanings attributed to ἔχω. In BDAG Acts 1:12 is the sole NT reference for the meaning 'being away from'; there is also a supporting reference to the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, but the clause concerned (Ὡραία ἔχουσα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης in section 37) at least contains the preposition ἀπό (unlike Acts 1:12). In Holwerda's days scholars referred to passages in Arrianus with a similar use of ἔχω; Holwerda responded that these passages need the same emendation (see *Aanteekeningen* [1853], p. 44).

216 See LSJ, s.v. III.1.a.

217 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 44–45.

218 The conjecture is actually on Mark 1:1–3, where Holwerda detects many more problems; see § 4.3.4.3.

219 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 69.

220 For Matt 21:16, see Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 93–94, and "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 552–553. For Jas 3:12, see Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 579. For the PR-content problem involved in Jas 3:12, see § 4.3.2.3; see also § 4.3.5.

221 Holwerda, *Xenophontis Hellenica* (1866), p. 58. Cf. the 𝔐 insertion of καί before συντρίψασα.

222 Holwerda, "Open brief" (1856), pp. 75–76. Cf. the transposition in 𝔐. For the other problems involved, see § 4.3.2.3 and § 4.3.4.1; see also § 4.3.5.

223 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 590.

224 Holwerda, *Xenophontis Hellenica* (1866), p. 83.

which Holwerda supplies.[225] In Luke 11:22 and Jas 1:9 he supplies the missing article by conjecturing δ'ο for δέ (B).[226] In John 5:11 he thinks the awkward B reading ὃς δέ (MCT: ὁ δέ) should be printed as ὡς δέ ("*when* he answered them … they asked him").[227] In Acts 22:5 Holwerda accepts Vaticanus' singular reading ἐμαρτύρει (𝔐/MCT: μαρτυρεῖ) and changes the preceding καί into κἄν (καί ἀν), thus adding to the Greek text the aspect of potentiality reflected in most current translations (NRSV: "as the high priest and the whole council of elders *can* testify about me").[228] In Col 2:15 Holwerda follows Codex Vaticanus in reading καί before ἐδειγμάτισεν, while conjecturing that οὗς (or ἅς) preceded καί originally—thus saving the syntax of the sentence.[229]

In my opinion, Holwerda's syntactical emendations of B readings that are not MCT readings are challenging: if this too difficult or too singular B reading is put aside in favour of the smoother ancient reading, at least a plausible corruption scenario for these B readings should be provided. This is not always an easy task, whereas the stemmas implied by Holwerda's conjectures are satisfying (the same goes for Holwerda's B conjectures on Matt 14:3 and Acts 27:27 discussed in § 4.3.2.5).

4.3.3.8 Other Philological Problems

Other philological conjectures concern the use of cases, verbal forms and (like the εἰς / ἐν conjectures) prepositions. In Luke 5:19 (ποίας), Luke 19:4 (ἐκείνης), John 9:6 (B: ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῦ) and John 19:17 (B: αὐτῷ) Holwerda thinks wrong cases are used.[230] In John 8:39 (ἐστέ), 1Cor 16:22 (ἤτω) and Jas 5:12 (ἤτω) he

225 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 586.

226 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 561, and *Xenophontis Hellenica* (1866), p. 72. In Luke 11:22 the article is not only absent in B, but also in many other important manuscripts; therefore this reading is the Modern Critical Text. In Jas 1:9, by contrast, the B reading is only supported by a few unimportant manuscripts (CNTTS: Y 2374*); since all other manuscripts have the article, the Modern Critical Text has the article as well.

227 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 74–75. Ὅς (A B 𝔓[75]) is, as *lectio dificilior*, accepted in the editions of Tregelles (*GNT 2* [1861]), Westcott & Hort (*NT: Text* [[1]1881]) and Holmes (*GNT SBL* [2010]). Holwerda provides a sophisticated stemma in which the variation in verse 11/2–4 is combined with the variation in verse 12/3 into a single variation unit. Since A and 𝔓[75] diverge from B in verse 12/3, B has a singular reading in this variation unit (ὃς δέ in combination with the absence of οὖν).

228 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 561, and *Hellenica* (1866), p. 70; cf. LSJ A.I.1.b.

229 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 118–120; though the B reading appeared to be in 𝔓[46] as well, the Modern Critical Text still leaves out καί.

230 For Luke 5:19 and 19:4, see Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 44; both conjectures had already been made by Friedrich August Bornemann in 1830, something Holwerda apparently was

solves problems concerning verbal forms.[231] In Gal 1:1 Holwerda changes ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων into ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων, while also adding ὑπό before θεοῦ πατρός.[232]

4.3.4 *Other Problems*

4.3.4.1 Passage-Related (Style) Problems

In fifteen cases Holwerda detects a PR-style problem. He finds superfluous elements in Matt 2:22 (Ἡρῴδου), 8:33 (καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων), 12:48 (τῷ λέγοντι), 24:38 (ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ), Luke 3:19 (ὁ Ἡρῴδης), 10:42 (B: ἢ ἑνός) John 2:23 (B: τῷ πάσχα), Acts 13:17 (B: λαοῦ τοῦ) and 13:24 (Ἰσραήλ).[233] In three other instances the presumably later inserted gloss is not superfluous, but otherwise stylistically problematic. In Luke 12:1 Jesus "would have spoiled the proverbial character of his warning"[234] by adding the explanation ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις.[235] In John 19:29 the double use of the word μεστόν is even below the level of the evangelist.[236] Finally, in Rom 5:6 the expression ἀσεβῶν is simply clumsy.

All the above conjectures are omissions of supposed *glosses*, and are therefore described in § 4.3.5. Yet in three PR-style conjectures the assumed corruption scenario is not that of an inserted gloss. Mark 1:1–3 betrays, besides several other problems, also a PR-style problem in its strange order of first prophesy (vss. 2–3) and then fulfillment (vs. 4). Holwerda thinks the opening verses are

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not aware of; see [cj10460] and [cj12488]. For John 9:6, see Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 588–590. For John 19:17, see Holwerda, "Opmerkingen" (1854), p. 42 n. 1, and *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 84.

231 For John 8:39, see Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1855), pp. 76–77. For 1Cor 16:22 and Jas 5:12, see Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), p. 47 n. 1.

232 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 109–111. Holwerda thinks ἀπό cannot be used instead of ὑπό in combination with a passive form (it is generally agreed upon today, however, that this happens several times in the New Testament; see e.g. BDR, § 210.2). Besides that, he thinks the clause καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν should not be combined with what precedes immediately (διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), but with ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων; in that case, however, a repetition of the preposition is necessary. Several other scholars have proposed several other emendations for Gal 1:1; see [cj10448], [cj10449], [cj12459], [cj14771], [cj14775].

233 In the case of Matt 2:22, Matt 12:48 and Luke 3:19 there are in fact two parallel PR-style problems attached to the two mutually independent readings at the top of the stemma (cf. § 4.3.4.2).

234 "zoude … het spreukmatige van zijne waarschuwing hebben bedorven" (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 75).

235 For the PR-content problem involved in Luke 12:1, see § 4.3.2.3.

236 For the PR-content problems involved in John 19:29, see § 4.3.2.3.

the result of conscious attempts to provide the Gospel with an opening.[237] In John 21:24–25 ("This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them, and we know that his testimony is true. …") there is a sudden change of authorial perspective. Therefore the verses are to be regarded as a later added ending.[238]

In Col 1:6 Paul says about τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (vs. 5): τοῦ παρόντος εἰς ὑμᾶς, καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν καρποφορούμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν. Holwerda proposes to insert εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον· καὶ before καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, which results in a stylistically satisfying pair of comparisons: "that has come to you, just like *it has come to the whole world*; and in the whole world it is bearing fruit and growing just like among yourselves" (proposed addition in italics). So Holwerda supposes a scenario of *saut du même au même*: the scribe copied the first occurrence of καί, and continued to copy after the second occurrence of καί.[239]

4.3.4.2 Stemmatic Problems

In a few Holwerda conjectures a stemmatic problem is involved: the variety of readings calls for a conjectured reading at the top of the local stemma. For example, in Luke 10:42 there are two readings Holwerda thinks cannot be deduced from each other. Luke 10:41^{b}–42 reads as follows:

> Martha, Martha, you are worried and troubled about many things, [41] *but one thing is needed.* Mary has chosen the best part; it will not be taken away from her (NET).

The clause in italics is a translation of ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία, which is the TR reading, with support from A and C*—today's Modern Critical Text.[240] However, B, C^{2} and L019 have ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία ἤ ἑνός:[241] "a few things are needed or one."[242] Opting for ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία as the original reading means that one

237 See for a fuller discussion of this conjecture § 4.3.4.3.

238 Holwerda, *Dissertatio* (1830), p. 65. This conjecture was first made by Henry Hammond in 1653; see [cj12008]. Of course today the same observation is made within the framework of a source-critical analysis of John's Gospel.

239 See Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 116–118.

240 $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and W also have this reading.

241 This is also the reading of ℵ*, with in the first hand the accidental omission of χρεία. B appeared to have, in fact, the unique transposition χρεία ἐστιν. D leaves out the entire clause, together with a large part of vs. 41^{b}.

242 At the recent symposium 'The Many Lives of the New Testament Text: Liturgy, History, and

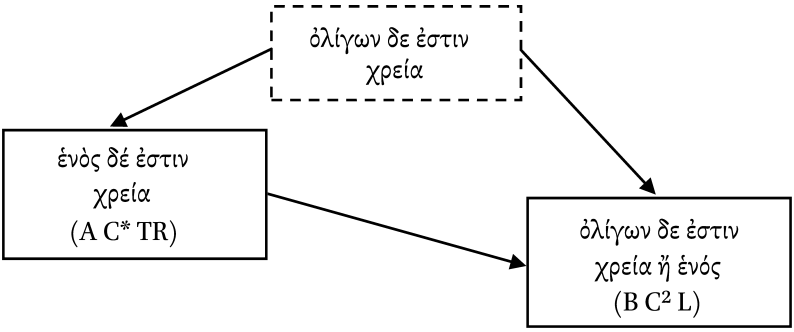


FIGURE 2 *Holwerda's stemma for the beginning of Luke 10:42*

considers the B reading to be a conflation: ἑνός has been changed into ὀλίγων, and the B reading combines both the original ἑνός and the secondary ὀλίγων into ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός. Yet Holwerda remarks that it is equally possible that ὀλίγων is original, has been changed into ἑνός, after which both readings were combined (see Figure 2).[243] For both changes, one could adduce an argument: ἑνός may have been changed into ὀλίγων because it was considered too strong; but ὀλίγων may also have been changed into ἑνός because it was considered too soft.

In the end, Holwerda cannot choose between the TR reading and the conjecture ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία.[244]

A stemmatic problem also plays a role in Holwerda's conjectures on Matt 2:22, Matt 12:48, Luke 3:19[245] and 2 Pet 3:10/48–50 (see § 4.3.7).

Conjectural Emendation' (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 19 June 2017), Tommy Wasserman defended this reading as the original reading, referring to developments in the interpretation of this verse in the early church. The publication of Wasserman's lecture is forthcoming.

243 I would say this scenario is even more plausible, since the B reading has ὀλίγων in front, not ἑνός (cf. Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 50).

244 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 51. According to Ti[8] minuscule 38 reads ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία, but this is not true; 38 simply has ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία (see VMR). Ti[8] also mentions the Armenian and the Syriac Harclean versions as offering an equivalent of ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία.

245 In Luke 3:19, Holwerda thinks, Codex Vaticanus has the second instance of ὁ Ἡρῴδης before instead of after πονηρῶν; the different locations reinforce the suspicion of interpolation. The problem involved can be labelled 'stemmatic', since the conjectured top reading in the stemma can explain both transmitted readings (there is also a PR-style problem, because Herod's name is already mentioned). Here, however, Holwerda is misinformed; B

4.3.4.3 An Author-Related (Content) and an Extraneous Problem: Mark 1:1–3

Holwerda thinks the first three verses of Mark are the awkward result of attempts by different persons to provide the Gospel with an opening. This conjecture is Holwerda's most radical proposal. Its radicality is matched by the number of problems pointed out, namely five in sum. Two of these are unique in his collection of NT conjectures: he does not discern these types of problems elsewhere.[246] Both concern the citation in verses 2–3:

> 2 As it is written *in the prophet Isaiah*, "See, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way; 3 the voice of one crying out in the wilderness: 'Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight,'" …

The reference to Isaiah is one of the more obvious mistakes in the New Testament. For whereas verse 3 gives an almost exact quotation from Is 40:3 in the Septuagint, verse 2[b] is a composite citation of Ex 23:20 (LXX) and Mal 3:1 (Hebrew).[247] It is not for nothing that the Byzantine text has ἐν τοῖς προφήταις instead of the Alexandrian/Western ἐν (τῷ) Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ. The type of

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does not have this transposition. Holwerda found the incorrect information in Ti[2]: "B al ο ηρωδ. (vv om ο ηρ.) πονηρ." What went wrong?

In his second edition (1849) Tischendorf is able to base his information about B readings on first-hand acquaintance with the collations of Bartolocci, Mico and Birch (see § 3.5.2). In 1841, however, he had not personally seen Bartolocci's collation in Paris yet, for which reason he had to rely on Scholz' report thereof (see Ti[1], p. lxxv). Scholz (*NTG 1* [1830]) reports that B (as well as 127, 132, 234 and 235) has the transposition at Luke 3:19. In 1841, Tischendorf carefully reports this transposition as the reading of B "ap. Sz." ("at Scholz"), thereby indicating that Mico's collation does not report that B has this reading (Birch did not collate Luke in Vaticanus). However, in his 1849 edition Tischendorf drops the disclaimer 'ap. Sz.', presenting the transposition as present in the collations of both Bartolocci and Mico. This inaccuracy of Tischendorf was caused by the fact that he, in the meantime, had copied Bartolocci's collation himself. Therefore he deleted from his 1841 edition all the instances of 'ap. Sz.' concerning B readings. However, depending on whether he found Bartolocci indeed reporting the transposition, he should no longer have mentioned B as supporting the transposition, or he should have indicated that B's support for the transposition was 'ap. Bart.'. One of these actions he forgot to perform.

246 As to the other three problems, these concern: 1) a philological problem, namely the awkward way in which vs. 4 is connected to vss. 2–3—by means of the word ἐγένετο; 2) a PR-style problem, namely the awkward order of prophecy (vss. 2–3) and fulfillment (vs. 4); 3) a PR-content problem, namely that it is completely unclear what is the reference of verse 1; see Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 49–51.

247 See e.g. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (1989), p. 7.

problem involved here is, according to our classification, an 'extraneous problem': "the transmitted text contradicts information the critic derives from other sources."[248] In most cases, the sources concerned are biblical writings.

In NT scholarship before the nineteenth century such problems gave rise to conjectural emendation more often than in scholarship after 1800. For the idea that a NT writer cannot make a mistake by going against what can be found in the Old Testament, or that different NT writers cannot contradict each other, is strongly connected to the doctrine of Inspiration: the Holy Spirit cannot err. A typical example of an early NT scholar who made many conjectures "as a means to safeguard the inerrancy of the text" is Beza.[249] In fact, Beza makes such a conjecture on the opening of Mark as well, suggesting to omit the entire quotation from Malachi.[250] And he was not the first to remove the error in Mark 1:2 by means of conjectural emendation: Jerome already proposed to simply leave out τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ from the phrase τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ.[251]

For Holwerda the Bible was a book that should be treated like any other ancient book. This explains why he never comes up with conjectures aimed at removing mistakes and contradictions. Yet Mark 1:2 is an exception:

> What inaccuracy is it to cite two places under the name of Isaiah, one of him and one of Malachi, and even to let Malachi's come first. This is of a different order from attaching the name of another author to a citation.[252]

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248 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 78.

249 Quotation in Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), p. 286; see pp. 281–305 for Krans' discussion of Beza's "harmonising" conjectures.

250 See [cj11284]. Beza knew the problematic reading ἐν (τῷ) Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ from L, D05 and the Vulgate. After having resorted to the easy Byzantine ἐν τοῖς προφήταις in his first two editions (1556 and 1565), he eventually faced the problem of the *lectio difficilior* in his third edition (1582), proposing the conjecture mentioned; see Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), pp. 284–286.

251 See [cj11181]. For the difficulties surrounding the interpretation of Jerome's comments, see the remarks in the Amsterdam Database. Other pre-1800 conjectures aimed at solving the reference problem are the substitution of Μαλαχίᾳ for Ἡσαΐᾳ, found in various Greek NT minuscules (see [cj10510]), and the transposition of verses 2 and 3 by Gottlieb Christoph Harleß (see [cj12271]).

252 "Welk eene onnaauwkeurigheid is het … niet, om op den naam van Jesaja twee plaatsen, ééne van hem en ééne van Maleachi aan te halen; en dan nog, die van Maleachi te laten voor gaan. Dit is nog geheel iets anders, dan bij eene citatie den naam van een anderen schrijver te noemen" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 51). As pointed out in the main text above, today Mark 1:2^{b} is generally regarded as a combined quotation from Exodus and Malachi.

In other words, Holwerda does not have a problem with a NT writer referring to the wrong OT writer per se, but Mark 1:2–3 is more problematic than that.

The sloppy referencing is not the only problem Holwerda has with the quotation. The quotation is also very non-Markan in itself: Holwerda rightly points out that the characters in Mark's story quote from the Old Testament every now and then, but Mark himself as the narrator never does so—except for in the opening verses. This is, besides the 'extraneous problem', the other type of problem Holwerda discerns nowhere but in the argumentation for this conjecture, namely an 'author-related (style) problem': "the transmitted reading does not fit the style of the author."[253]

Holwerda concludes:

> Most probable to me seems that this gospel originally began with verse 4, and that afterwards more than one person was involved in adding opening words to it.[254]

Holwerda is by no means the only post-1800 critic who senses all kinds of difficulties in these verses. His is only one out of the many conjectures on Mark's opening that were made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[255]

4.3.5 *A Cause Group of Conjectures: Omission of Supposed Glosses*

4.3.5.1 General

An important group of conjectures cannot be defined with reference to a certain type of problem. The 22 conjectures that are the subject of the present section can be defined with reference to the supposed cause of corruption, namely the assumed insertion into the text of a gloss. The standard corresponding operation is of course omission.[256]

As mentioned before, Holwerda is not a theorist. Only regarding supposedly inserted proper names does he expound shortly on the historical circum-

253 Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" (2015), p. 78.

254 "Voor het naast geloof ik, dat dit Evangelie oorspronkelijk met vs. 4 … begon, en dat later meer dan een persoon bezig is geweest, om er een aanhef aan te maken" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 51).

255 See the Amsterdam Database. J. Keith Elliott proposed the same conjecture as Holwerda, without reference to the Dutch philologist. See Elliott, "Mark 1.1–3" (2000).

256 The conjectures on Rom 5:6/22 ([cj12238]; substitution) and Acts 10:30 (omission and transposition) are the only exceptions to the rule that the textual operation proposed by Holwerda to emend a text that suffered from the insertion of a gloss is omission.

stances under which such glosses were inserted into the text. In the context of a defence of his conjecture on Luke 3:19,[257] he writes:

> He who knows that in the old books often proper names, at first written by readers in the margin or between the lines, were later adopted into the text by unthinking scribes, easily suspects that also in Luke ὁ Ἡρῴδης is unauthentic.[258]

Probably Holwerda has a similar scenario in mind for interpolations in general, judging by the way he formulates his conjectures on Matt 24:38 ("The words ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ are from *some reader* who considered ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις not precise enough")[259] and Acts 13:17 ("By τοῦ λαοῦ *some reader* wanted to express …").[260] In any case, for Cobet, who published many proposals to omit text in *Mnemosyne* from 1855 to 1858, the origin of interpolations does not lie with the scribes; they only put into the text what was already written down in the margin or between the lines.

> I am talking about embellishments and interpolations of every kind, with which sciolists and petty teachers and idle readers filled up their books at will, and which negligent copyists subsequently adopted into the text, …[261]

For some assumed interpolations Holwerda uses the word 'gloss';[262] these interpolations, however, do not seem to be a specific type of interpolation. In the

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257 See main text below for a discussion of this conjecture (cf. also n. 245 in this chapter); other proper name interpolations are suspected by Holwerda at Matt 2:22 and Acts 13:24 (see main text below).

258 "Wanneer men nu weet, dat in de schriften der ouden zeer dikwijls eigennamen, eerst door lezers op den rand of tusschen de regels bijgeschreven, later door onnadenkende librarii in den tekst zijn opgenomen, dan komt men ligt op het vermoeden, dat ook bij Lucas ὁ Ἡρῴδης onecht is" (Holwerda, "Open brief" [1856], p. 74).

259 "De woorden ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμου zijn van *een' of anderen lezer* afkomstig, die ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις niet juist genoeg vond" (my italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 579; see main text below for a discussion of this conjecture).

260 "Door τοῦ λαοῦ wilde *een of andere lezer* aanduiden …" (my italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 590; see main text below for a discussion of this conjecture).

261 "Emblemata dico et interpolationes omne genus, quibus olim scioli et magistelli et otiosi lectores libros suos suo arbitratu oppleverunt, quas deinde librarii oscitantes receperunt in textum, …" (Cobet, *Novae lectiones* [1858], p. xv).

262 "Glosse," in *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 87,109; review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), p. 352 c. b; "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 579,585,590.

context of textual criticism, the word "gloss" *stricto sensu* refers to an explanation of an obscure word that is written over a word or in the margin.[263] The actual use of the Dutch word "glosse" or its Latin equivalent "glossema" in the nineteenth-century literature I have seen is broader. For example, it can also refer to stylistic improvements, and to quotations from the same or another text.[264] In this broader meaning Holwerda is using the word.

However broad the meaning of the word 'gloss' as used by Dutch critics in the nineteenth century, one part of the classical definition remained unchanged: in textual criticism a gloss is a remark written between the lines or in the margin of a manuscript. So if Holwerda proposes to omit part of the transmitted text suggesting it is a gloss, he is thinking of a two-step process of corruption: first, a gloss was written outside the text, by a reader; second, a scribe inserted this gloss into the text.

Having mapped the way Holwerda speaks about assumed NT interpolations, let us now turn to his actual proposals. Below these are rendered in the order of the NT books. The words to be dropped are in square brackets; if the textual change involves more than mere omission, this change is indicated between angle brackets. The Greek text is the Modern Critical Text, unless indicated otherwise. The English translation is NRSV, unless another translation is more suitable for singling out the supposedly interpolated words. For Matt 2:22 and 12:48 there are two manuscript readings, that witness two different ways in which the gloss has entered the text (stemmatic problem).

Matt 2:22	Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ [Ἡρῴδου] (MCT)	But when he heard that Archelaus was ruling over Judea in place of his father [Herod][265]
	Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ [Ἡρῴδου] τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (TR)	

263 E.g. Hall, *Companion* (1913), p. 195.

264 See e.g. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), p. 43.

265 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 558–559.

Matt 8:33	οἱ δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον, καὶ ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα [καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων]	The herdsmen fled, and going into the city they told everything[, and what had happened to the demoniacs] (RSV)[266]
Matt 12:48	ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν [τῷ λέγοντι] αὐτῷ (MCT) ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν [τῷ εἰπόντι] αὐτῷ (TR)	But he replied [to the one who was speaking] to him (my translation)[267]
Matt 16:11	πῶς οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι οὐ περὶ ἄρτων εἶπον ὑμῖν; [προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων]	How could you fail to perceive that I was not speaking about bread? [Beware of the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees!][268]
Matt 24:38	ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις [ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ] τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες	For as in those days [before the flood] they were eating and drinking[269]

266 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 584.

267 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 585. In the text proposed by Holwerda αὐτῷ refers to the speaker of verse 47; in the Modern Critical Text to Jesus. Since the present tense of λέγοντι, a hapax form in the New Testament, suggests a more extensive speaking than the short question in verse 47, the participle is turned into the aorist in the Byzantine text (εἰπόντι). Other variants try to simplify the overprecise clause τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ; Z leaves out αὐτῷ (NA[28]), X leaves out τῷ λέγοντι (Ti[8]; this coincides with Holwerda's conjecture) and W leaves out the entire clause τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ (NA[28]).

268 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 585.

269 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), pp. 578–579. In the Modern Critical Text the word ἐκείναις is bracketed. This word can be found in B D05 579 it sa sy[h], but is lacking in the rest of the tradition. The UBS committee granted a 'C' status to the decision to include the word (between brackets), indicating that the committee "had difficulty in deciding which variant to place in the text" (Metzger, *Textual Commentary* [[2]1994], p. 14*). For Holwerda the textual variation is, of course, one of the many examples of Vaticanus containing the awkward reading (one should use either ἐκείναις or ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, not both) that is the immediate result of a corruption: the common text has ironed out the difficulty.

Mark 1:5	καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία [χώρα] καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται πάντες	And there went out to him all [the country of] Judea, and all the people of Jerusalem (RSV)[270]
Luke 3:19	Ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραάρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρῳδιάδος τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν [ὁ Ἡρῴδης]	But Herod the ruler, who had been rebuked by him because of Herodias, his brother's wife, and because of all the evil things that (Herod > he) had done[271]
Luke 9:25	τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας [ἢ ζημιωθείς];	What does it profit them if they gain the whole world, but lose [or forfeit] themselves?[272]
Luke 10:42	(ἑνὸς > ὀλίγων) δέ ἐστιν χρεία	there is need of only (one thing > a few things)[273]
Luke 12:1	προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης[, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις,] τῶν Φαρισαίων	Beware of the leaven[—that is, the hypocrisy—]of the Pharisees (NAB[4])[274]
John 2:23	Ὡς δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν [τῷ πάσχα] τῇ ἑορτῇ (B)	Now when he was in Jerusalem at [the Passover,] the feast (my translation)[275]

270 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 69 n. 1.

271 Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), p. 352 c. b, and "Open brief" (1856), pp. 73–76.

272 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 586. Holwerda does not refer to earlier proposals to omit ἢ ζημιωθείς, the *Urheber* probably being Pearce (*Commentary 1* [1777], p. 358); see [cj10468].

273 See § 4.3.4.2 for an explanation of this conjecture, which also involves the B reading ὀλίγων δε ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός (stemmatic problem).

274 Holwerda, "Open brief" (1856), pp. 75–76. Holwerda does not refer to Pearce, who proposes the same (*Commentary 1* [1777], p. 377; see [cj11415]).

275 Holwerda, review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), p. 352 c. b, and "Open brief" (1856), p. 84. The reading of B, ἐν τῷ πάσχα τῇ ἑορτῇ, is singular; all other manuscripts have a sec-

John 19:20	ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος [τῆς πόλεως] ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς	because the place where Jesus was crucified was near [the city][276]
John 19:29	σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους [μεστόν]· σπόγγον οὖν μεστὸν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες	A jar [full] of sour wine was standing there. So they put a sponge full of the wine on a branch of hyssop[277]
Acts 10:30	ἀπὸ τετάρτης (ἡμέρας μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἤμην τὴν ἐνάτην > ταύτης ἡμέρας ἤμην) προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου	Four days ago [to this hour], I was praying in my house [during the ninth hour] (NAB[4])[278]

ond ἐν: ἐν τῷ πάσχα **ἐν** τῇ ἑορτῇ. This *lectio facilior* also is the Modern Critical Text. Holwerda does not refer to earlier suggestions that 'at the Passover' is a gloss, namely by Mann (*True Years* [[1]1733], pp. 162–163) and Pearce (*Commentary 1* [1777], p. 473); see [cj10762]. However, in this case Holwerda does more than merely re-invent an existing conjecture. Mann and Pearce conjectured upon the common text ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, proposing to leave out the first three words. Holwerda had knowledge of the B reading ἐν τῷ πάσχα τῇ ἑορτῇ, which he thought had resulted from an original ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ penetrated by the gloss τῷ πάσχα. Although therefore the reconstructions of, on the one hand, Mann and Pearce, and, on the other hand, Holwerda, differ, the text they propose is identical.

276 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 590; cf. TR ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς πόλεως ὁ τόπος. Holwerda's proposal coincides with the reading of 1313 (CNTTS).

277 Holwerda, *Aanteekeningen* (1853), pp. 27–33, and "Opmerkingen" (1854), pp. 33–37. Cf. the 𝔐 text, in which the second occurrence of μεστόν is dropped. Cf. also the NIV[3]: "A jar of wine vinegar was there."

278 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 590. Holwerda's idea is that the transmitted text is the result of the insertion of the gloss τὴν ἐνάτην (from 10:3) into the original ταύτης ἡμέρας ἤμην (after which more additions and a transposition had to make the sentence more or less meaningful). There is a rich tradition of conjectural criticism on Acts 10:30, including proposals by Blass [cj10250], Schmiedel [cj10634], Pallis [cj13770] and Haenchen [cj11688]. Holwerda's conjecture, however, differs from all these later conjectures, in that they all leave the clause ἤμην τὴν ἐνάτην προσευχόμενος untouched. In the manuscript tradition, by contrast, the awkward splitting up of the verbal phrase ἤμην προσευχόμενος by the adverbial τὴν ἐνάτην has led to an extended 𝔐 text: ἤμην **νηστεύων, καὶ** τὴν ἐνάτην **ὥραν** προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου. The preceding phrase ἀπὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας is only changed in D05*, which goes its own way altogether in Acts 10:30: ἀπό **τῆς τρίτης** ἡμέρας μέχρι τῆς **ἄρτι** ὥρας ἤμην **νηστεύων** τὴν ἐνάτην **τε** προσευχόμενος.

Acts 13:17	ὁ θεὸς [τοῦ λαοῦ] τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (B)	the God [of the people] of Israel (my translation)[279]
Acts 13:24	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ [Ἰσραήλ]	to all the people [of Israel][280]
Rom 5:6	Ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ (ἀσεβῶν > ἡμῶν) ἀπέθανεν	For while we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for (the ungodly > us)[281]
1 Cor 15:33	32 εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. 33 [μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί]	32 If the dead are not raised, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." 33 [Do not be deceived: "Bad company ruins good morals"][282]

279 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 590. B stands virtually alone in reading τοὺ Ἰσραήλ (CNTTS: Ψ and 1175 join B) over against all important manuscripts (𝔓74 ℵ A C D05 33 81 *pc*, see CNTTS) reading τούτου Ἰσραὴλ (= TR/MCT) and the majority of manuscripts reading just τούτου. The scenario implied by Holwerda, who deals with the passage very briefly, is 1) τοὺ Ἰσραήλ as authorial text; 2) τοῦ λαοῦ as explanatory remark in the margin, by which "some reader wanted to express that 'Israel' does not refer to *Jacob* but to the *people*" ("wilde een of andere lezer aanduiden, dat door Israël hier niet *Jacob*, maar het *volk* bedoeld werdt"; original italics; Holwerda, "Tischendorf" [1860], p. 590); 3) the insertion of the gloss leading to the B reading τοῦ λαοῦ τού Ἰσραήλ. Holwerda does not point out what is wrong with this reading, but he probably considered τοῦ λαοῦ superfluous. Later, van de Sande Bakhuyzen rightly pointed out (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 202) that τοῦ λαοῦ τού Ἰσραήλ deviates from the idiom of the writer of Acts (see Acts 4:10, 4:27, 13:24; cf. 7:42; in fact, the use of the article before Ἰσραήλ when this word appears in apposition to λάος or its near synonym οἶκος would be unique in the New Testament [see Matt 10:6, 15:24, Phil 3:5, Heb 8:8,10]); 4) both the common ancient and the 𝔐 reading result, in whatever order, from dissatisfaction with the improper B reading.

280 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 590. This conjecture is the mirror image of the one on Acts 13:17 (above), and, besides, the mirror image of the 𝔐 reading in verse 24 (τῷ Ἰσραήλ).

281 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 87–88. "For while we were still weak, at the right time Christ died for the ungodly": there seem to be two groups, 'we' and 'the ungodly', whereas Paul obviously is speaking about one group. Holwerda wonders whether ἀσεβῶν originally was a gloss to ἀσθενῶν. Cf. Pallis' conjecture ὑπεραγαπῶν for ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν (*Romans* [1920], p. 77; see [cj14134]). Holwerda also thinks there is a corruption at the beginning of the verse.

282 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 560. The folk wisdom "Bad company ruins good morals" seems to lack any connection to Paul's argument about the resurrection of the dead in chapter 15. Holwerda, who provides no argumentation for this conjecture, probably con-

2 Cor 3:3	οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πλαξὶν [καρδίαις] σαρκίναις	not on tablets of stone but on tablets[, hearts,] of flesh (my translation)[283]
Jas 3:12	μὴ δύναται, ἀδελφοί μου, συκῆ ἐλαίας ποιῆσαι ἢ ἄμπελος σῦκα; [οὔτε ἁλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ.]	Can a fig tree, my brothers and sisters, yield olives, or a grapevine figs? [No more can salt water yield fresh][284]
2 Pet 3:10/46	γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ [ἔργα]	the earth and everything [that is done] on it[285]
2 Pet 3:10/48–50	γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα (ἀφανισθήσονται > οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται) (C)	the earth and everything that is done on it (will disappear > will not be found) (NRSV adapted)[286]

What idea did Holwerda have regarding the motives for the supposed interpolations? In most cases, the cause of the corruption falls into our category 'explanation'—the classical gloss (see for example his 2 Cor 3:3 conjecture, extensively discussed in § 4.3.5.2). Sometimes, Holwerda is explicit about this motive,[287] other times we can safely assume he had such a scenario in mind. In Acts 10:30, Holwerda's conjecture implies a process of textual change in two steps, the insertion of the explanatory remark being followed by a drastic rewriting of the phrase concerned (see p. 198 n. 278).

Five interpolations fall into other cause categories. The conjecture on Luke 9:25 is an example of 'conflation';[288] Holwerda says ζημιωθείς bears the sem-

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siders verse 33 a moralistic gloss to Paul's remark that if there is no raising of the dead, the device is: "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (vs. 32).

283 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 109; see § 4.3.5.2.

284 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 579; without reference to Holwerda also proposed by Reiche and Dibelius; see [cj12483]. Cf. the heavily extended Byzantine Οὕτως οὐδεμία πηγὴ ἁλυκὸν καὶ γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ.

285 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 128; see § 4.3.7.

286 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 128. Important in this conjecture is the Alexandrian reading εὑρεθήσεται, which Holwerda regards as also directly deriving from the conjectured original οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται (stemmatic problem); see for an extensive discussion § 4.3.7.

287 This is the case in the argumentation for the conjectures on Luke 12:1, John 19:29, Acts 13:17, Rom 5:6 [cj12240] and 2 Cor 3:3.

288 Holwerda uses the technical term "dittographie" ("Tischendorf" (1860), p. 586; cf. e.g.

blance of being part of a variant reading (perhaps τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθείς), that was noted in the margin with a preceding ἤ.[289] Holwerda's proposal for 1 Cor 15:33 implies the addition of text out of 'contextualisation'. Finally, Holwerda analyses the clauses in Luke 10:42 (TR/MCT), James 3:12 and 2 Pet 3:10/48–50 (C) as examples of 'improvement'.

The types of problems leading Holwerda to suspect the insertion of a gloss are very diverse. Still, one type of problem is emphatically connected to the gloss conjectures, namely PR-style problems. This is not so much because in more than half of all cases it plays a role (thirteen times), but especially because this problem hardly features in connection with other causes (only twice). The correlation between the stylistic implausibility of an expression as a problem and the suggestion that this expression is an inserted gloss is obviously not typical of Holwerda; sensing this type of problem naturally leads to assuming this type of cause. One cannot say the same thing about the other direction; many of Holwerda's gloss proposals are prompted by other types of problems.

4.3.5.2 Holwerda's Conjecture on 2 Cor 3:3 in the History of Scholarship

If one of the above 'explanatory interpolations' deserves to be elaborated more fully, it is Holwerda's proposal to omit καρδίαις in 2 Cor 3:3. This is probably Holwerda's most well-known conjecture. From the eleventh edition onwards, Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece* mentioned the suggestion,[290] and from the thirteenth to the sixteenth edition it was one out of the seventeen conjectures granted an authenticity marker by Erwin Nestle.[291]

Naber, *Τρίτον* [1881], p. 286, where similarly the Greek διττογραφία is used); today this term is generally used for another type of scribal change, the double copy of a part of the exemplar text (see e.g. Kamphuis et al., "Sleepy Scribes and Clever Critics" [2015], p. 81).

289 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 586. Pearce, the *Urheber* of this conjecture not referred to by Holwerda, offers a reconstruction which is, in my view, more convincing than Holwerda's. Pearce points to the parallel passages in Matthew (16:26) and Mark (8:36). The first two evangelists both use, just like Luke (as transmitted), a passive form of the verb ζημιόω, but both do not also use, as Luke does, the verb ἀπόλλυμι. Pearce therefore contends that ἢ ζημιωθείς in Luke 9:25 should be seen as the result of harmonisation (*Commentary 1* [1777], p. 358). Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, however, prefers Holwerda's argumentation to that of Pearce (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], pp. 164–165).

290 From the 26th edition onwards Holwerda's name is replaced by three manuscripts that appear to have the same omission (0243 630 1739).

291 Erwin Nestle introduced this practice in the thirteenth edition, but it was dropped again in the seventeenth edition. For more information about the peculiarity of the Nestle authenticity marker, see chapter 9 in Krans, *Method and History 2* (forthcoming).

What is at stake in 2 Cor 3:3? In the first verses of chapter three, Paul plays with the metaphor of the letter. Paul and his colleagues do not need letters of recommendation to or from the Corinthians (vs. 1), because *they* are their letter (ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, vs. 2). This letter of Christ has been written with the Spirit of the living God, οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶν λιθίναις ("not on tablets of stone," vs. 3), ἀλλ᾽ ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις. Because καρδίαις stands in apposition to πλαξίν, the most obvious translation would be, as already proposed above: "but on tablets—hearts—of flesh." The problem here is of course that the appositive comes too early—it should have been πλαξὶν σαρκίναις καρδίαις: "not on tablets of stone, but on tablets of flesh (hearts)." Then Paul still would be like someone who explains his own joke, but at least the word order would be normal.

The old Latin (followed by the Vulgate) translates as if the Greek has πλαξὶν **(τῆς) καρδίας** σαρκίναις: "tabulis *cordis* carnalibus," "on fleshy tables **of the heart**."[292] This interpretation of καρδίαις one encounters in many other versions as well as in several Church Fathers.[293] In fact, καρδίας is known as the reading of some later Greek manuscripts.[294] One of these manuscripts, the fifteenth-century Leicester Codex (minuscule 69), was probably studied by Erasmus during his stay in Cambridge a few years before he published his *Novum Instrumentum* (1516).[295] In his editions Erasmus printed as text the reading he most likely found in Codex Leicester, καρδίας, commenting in his *annotationes* that "some manuscripts" have the faulty reading καρδίαις.[296] Since the other *editio princeps*, the Complutensian Polyglot, also had καρδίας (in line with the Vulgate

292 As for the Old Latin, I have verified this reading in Codex Claromontanus and in MacLachlan's transcription of the Anonymous Budapest Commentary on Paul (Vetus Latina 89).

293 Ti[8] mentions the Peshitta, the Coptic and Armenian versions, Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius (also witness to καρδίαις), Hilary, Macarius the Great, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus (also witness to καρδίαις) and John of Damascus. Westcott and Hort add the Ethiopic and Gothic versions as well as Didymus of Alexandria (also witness to καρδίαις); see "Notes" ([1a]1882), p. 119 c. a.

294 NA[28] mentions F010 Ψ 629 945 1505; to these the CNTTS apparatus adds 049 69 (I have verified 69's support for καρδίας in the VMR) 131 489 927 1244 1315 1646*. Ti[8] also mentions K; Lachmann Δ; besides, according to CNTTS, 1739 leaves out καρδίαις.

295 See Krans, *Beyond What Is Written* (2006), p. 335 n. 1.

296 "Καρδίαις habent quidam codices, hoc est 'cordibus', sed mendose, opinor," from the first edition of his *annotationes* (1516) onwards. In the fourth edition (1527) Erasmus attempts to explain the origin of καρδίαις: "Qui sic legunt, volebant esse appositionem in *tabulis carneis*: 'quibus? Nimirum ipsis cordibus'" ("Who read thus, wanted it to be an appositive to "tabulis carneis." 'Which? Well, their own hearts'"). See Erasmus, *Annotationes 4* (ed. van Poll-van de Lisdonk; 2003), p. 352, ll. 443–445; original italics.

'cordis'), this poorly attested reading, which lacks the required article but is in any case better than καρδίαις, was destined to become Textus Receptus.

The overwhelmingly attested καρδίαις apparently was felt to be so problematic by the critics of the Textus Receptus that neither Bengel, nor Wettstein, nor Griesbach, nor Tischendorf before his eighth edition expressed a preference for this reading. They all printed καρδίας without casting doubt on it.[297] Lachmann also printed this reading, but this only shows that he strictly followed the rule he had imposed upon himself, namely to print, without any internal considerations, the text of the oldest 'Eastern' manuscripts (see § 3.2.3). Moreover, in the *prolegomena* to his *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine 2* (1850) he explicitly rejects the reading he prints. According to Lachmann, one should either stick to καρδίας (which he mistakenly believes to be supported by D06), or conjecture καρδίαις σαρκίναις, in other words, to omit πλαξίν.[298] Regarding the latter proposal, Lachmann probably imagined what we call 'contagion': a scribe unintentionally copied the word πλαξίν from the first into the second part of the antithesis (cf. the quotation of Westcott and Hort below).

As mentioned before, Holwerda was not oriented towards the methodological renewal of Lachmann. Therefore it comes as no surprise that, when writing about 2 Cor 3:3 in his *Betrekking* (1853), he is unaware of Lachmann's 1850 conjecture. His line of reasoning, however, is similar, as he moves back from the Textus Receptus via the best-witnessed reading to a conjectured emendation:

> I do not believe that καρδίας can be explicated decently. All interpreters, as far as I can see, act as if it says τῆς καρδίας. The best and oldest manuscripts A B C D (E F?)[299] G J read: ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις. These words are completely unintelligible. However, we learn from this reading that καρδίας is a wrong conjecture, and that καρδίαις is a gloss by which people have wanted to explain ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις. Paul merely wrote: ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις.[300]

297 Even Bernhard Weiss still printed καρδίας in his 1896 edition (with commentary) of the Pauline Epistles (Weiss, *Die paulinischen Briefe* [1896]).

298 Lachmann, *NTGL 2* (1850) p. vi.

299 F010 has καρδίας.

300 "Ik geloof niet, dat καρδίαις behoorlijk kan worden geëxpliceerd. Alle uitleggers, voor zoo ver ik heb kunnen nagaan, doen of als er τῆς καρδίας stond. De beste en oudste Codd. ABCD (EF?) GJ lezen: ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις. Deze woorden zijn geheel en al onverstaanbaar. Maar toch wij zien uit deze lezing, dat καρδίας eene verkeerde conjectuur, en καρδίαις eene glosse is, waardoor men ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις heeft willen verklaren. Paulus schreef alleen: ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 109).

So whereas Lachmann proposes to omit πλαξίν, suggesting 'contagion', Holwerda proposes to omit καρδίαις, suggesting the insertion of a gloss.

Only in 1869, to my knowledge, did the first edition appear in which πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις, the Modern Critical Text, was defended as original. It would take a critic who, on the one hand, went far in printing difficult readings as long as they are supported by the oldest manuscripts, and who, on the other hand, was opposed to making conjectures on the New Testament: Tregelles (cf. § 3.5.3).[301] Three years later Tischendorf eventually surrendered to the reading as well, in the second volume of his eighth edition; even his beloved Sinaiticus appeared to have it.

Westcott and Hort, on the contrary, defended Lachmann's conjecture, without referring to the German classicist:

> … the apposition is harsh and strange, and it is not unlikely that the second πλαξίν was a primitive clerical error suggested by the line above, and immediately discovered and cancelled by dots which escaped notice at the next transcription.[302]

From the third edition of his *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1901) onwards, Eberhard Nestle in principle based his text on the agreement of Ti[8] and Westcott & Hort, Bernhard Weiss' text being decisive in the case of disagreement.[303] Weiss, however, was not of much help here: he had stuck to the Textus Receptus ("das trotz aller Quälereien der Ausleger gänzlich sinnlose πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις statt καρδίας").[304] Nestle decided to print πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις, referring to Weiss' καρδίας and the conjecture of the Cambridge critics in the apparatus.[305] In a 1902 review of Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Paul Wil-

301 See Tregelles, *GNT 4* (1869).

302 Westcott and Hort, "Notes" ([1a]1882), p. 119 c. a.

303 See N[3], p. v.

304 Weiss, *Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe* (1896), p. 17.

305 Nestle thus, in a way, still follows the majority principle since two of the three texts (Ti[8] and Westcott & Hort) at least have πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις in their text. But his editorial choice in the third edition may have been no choice at all. According to Aland and Aland (*Text* [[2]1989], p. 20), the Württemberg Bible Society only permitted Nestle to make the most important alterations required by the use of Weiss' edition as a third voice instead of Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament* (1892), which was the third voice in Nestle's two first editions (1898 and 1899). Weymouth's text, itself offering the readings proposed by the majority of a larger group of modern textual critics, sides with Ti[8] in 2 Cor 3:3, printing πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις.

helm Schmiedel agreed with Westcott and Hort that there was one word too much in the phrase πλαξὶν καρδίαις, but that they had picked the wrong word. Not σαρκίναις, but καρδίαις should be dropped, the proper antithesis being πλαξὶν λιθίναις—πλαξὶν σαρκίναις.[306] Schmiedel's conjecture is identical to Holwerda's. Although it is highly probable that Eberhard Nestle first encountered the conjectured omission of καρδίαις in Schmiedel's review of his own *Novum Testamentum*,[307] he did correctly refer to its Urheber—Holwerda—when he introduced the proposal in the eleventh edition (1920) of his *Handausgabe*. This accuracy was facilitated, of course, by Baljon's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1898), in which Holwerda's proposal was reported in the apparatus.[308] As mentioned above, his son Erwin even preferred the Holwerda-Schmiedel conjecture to the Lachmann-Westcott&Hort one (and to the transmitted readings) from the thirteenth (1927) to the sixteenth (1936) editions.

The textual problem with which scholars had been wrestling since the middle of the nineteenth century was assigned the letter 'A' by the UBS committee, which indicates that "the text is certain." Metzger merely comments:

> In view of the awkward apposition of καρδίαις to πλαξίν, the genitive singular καρδίας … must be regarded as an obvious scribal amelioration.[309]

The question whether the "awkward apposition" may be too awkward to be original is not even put.

Many Bible readers today still know the ending of 2 Cor 3:3 in a conjectured form; modern translations reflect various Greek texts that differ from the Modern Critical Text, for example:

"on tablets of human hearts" (ἐν πλαξίν καρδιῶν σαρκινῶν)	NRSV and most other English translations
"auf fleischerne Tafeln, nämlich eure Herzen" (ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν)	LB; cf. NBG and Jérusalem[2]

306 Schmiedel, "Nestle's griechisches Neues Testament" (1902), pp. 239–240.

307 Schmiedel in general played an important role in advising Eberhard and Erwin Nestle concerning conjectures that could be mentioned in their editions (see N[13], p. 8*).

308 In his dissertation, Baljon approves of Holwerda's conjecture (*Tekst* [1884], p. 143), in line with van de Sande Bakhuyzen's judgment (*Conjecturaal-kritiek* [1880], p. 266).

309 Metzger, *Textual Commentary* ([1]1975), p. 577.

"in het hart van mensen" (ἐν καρδίαις σαρκίναις; Lachmann)	NBV

I have only found a few translations that succeed in actually translating MCT's ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις (whether or not the result makes it more plausible that the Modern Critical Text coincides with 'what Paul wrote'):

"in tables that are hearts of flesh"	RV and NAB[4]; cf. EB[3]

Let us, in conclusion, return to Holwerda. After having proposed his conjecture on 2 Cor 3:3, he writes:

> It is my intention to show, by means of this actually trivial observation, in an easy and clear example, that in the New Testament, just like among the profane writers, the true reading now and then lies hidden in the corruptions of the oldest manuscripts.[310]

So Holwerda considers 2 Cor 3:3 a 'textbook example' ("an easy and clear example") of the oldest manuscripts' reading being in need of emendation (not realising that in this case the oldest reading also is the majority reading, over against the young minority reading of the Textus Receptus). In other words, Holwerda hopes that readers who are sceptical of his conjectural criticism will be convinced by the absurd ἐν πλαξὶν καρδίαις σαρκίναις that sometimes the transition from the Textus Receptus to the oldest manuscripts necessarily leads to conjectural emendation. Given Holwerda's confidence in this conjecture, it is fitting that of all his emendations, this one would be one of the few that became well-known in the twentieth century.

4.3.6 *Semi-conjectures*

As described in § 3.6.2, Holwerda thought the NT text that has come down to us is in a very miserable condition. Undoubtedly, Holwerda's inability to discern certain Hellenistic grammatical developments plays a role (cf. § 4.3.3.2.3). Also, although he was willing to lower his standards for the New Testament,

310 "Mijn oogmerk met deze, op zich zelve onbeduidende, observatie is, om in een gemakkelijk en duidelijk voorbeeld te toonen, dat in het N. T., even als bij de ongewijde schrijvers, de ware lezing nu en dan in de corrupties der oudste Mss. verborgen ligt" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 109).

his demands may still have been too 'literary' (see p. 176 n. 167). In any case, Holwerda believed that only a small portion of all corrupt passages could be restored by means of conjectural emendation. Holwerda declared 31 passages corrupt (see index). Since Holwerda made 93 full conjectures, his 31 semi-conjectures should be seen as only illustrative of his general opinion on the textual quality of the transmitted New Testament.[311] Generally, Holwerda's argumentation for semi-conjectures is as dense as his argumentation for full conjectures. His semi-conjectures are not cases of rash judgment or laxity, but the honest results of thorough exegetical research.

Many of Holwerda's 'corruptum est' conjectures have been the starting point for later Dutch textual critics, who did come up with a proposal. Let us take as an example Mark 11:19–20.[312] After Mark has narrated the cleansing of the temple, he writes:

> And when evening came, Jesus and his disciples went out of the city. 20 In the morning as they passed by (καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρωΐ), they saw the fig tree withered away to its roots.

Holwerda points to the weak coherence between verses 19 and 20. Something is missing in the beginning of verse 20. It should have been something like: "And the next day he/they returned to the city early in the morning, and as they passed by, etc."[313] However, Holwerda does not see how to restore the passage.[314]

A few years later, however, Michelsen, referring to Holwerda, comes with a simple solution. He proposes to omit πρωΐ. This would locate the seeing of the withered fig tree in the evening after the temple cleansing: "And when evening came, Jesus and his disciples went out of the city. 20 And as they passed by, …".

311 Cf. e.g. Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 63, where he declares Ephesians 1:1 and 5:4 corrupt, but also indicates that there are several similar passages in this letter.

312 Other instances are Matt 26:18 (Michelsen [cj10054]), Matt 27:65 (Michelsen [cj12390]), Mark 1:39 (Michelsen [cj10419]), Mark 4:31–32 (van der Beke Callenfels [cj12550]; Baljon [cj10717]), Mark 10:10 (Michelsen [cj12605]), Luke 24:17 (Harting [cj10502]), John 3:22–26 (Michelsen [cj12454]; van de Sande Bakhuyzen [cj10766]), Acts 10:36 (van Manen [cj10254]), Acts 19:22 (Michelsen [cj14692]), 1Cor. 12:2 (Straatman [cj10963]; Naber [cj10962]), Eph 1:1 (Cramer [cj14557]), Col 2:14 (Baljon [cj10109]).

313 "En den volgenden dag keerde hij (*of:* keerden zij) des morgens vroeg weer naar de stad terug en zagen toen in het voorbijgaan *enz*." (original italics; Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 107).

314 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), pp. 106–107; see [cj13609].

Michelsen argues for the omission by referring to the different locations of πρωΐ in the manuscripts,[315] and to its omission in the Old Latin manuscripts a, c and k (see Ti^{8}).[316]

In Holwerda's work, there are two types of semi-conjectures: either he does not know yet how to restore the passage, or he thinks any attempt to emend is futile—taking to heart Cobet's warning (see § 3.6.2). Mark 11:20 exemplifies the former, Holwerda saying: "Here the true reading has not been found yet." In many other cases, including some larger passages, the tone is much more pessimistic, for example: "wanting to restore such passages is as wrong as wanting to explain them" (about Matt 26:18);[317] "miserably ill-treated" (about Luke 7:32);[318] "corrupt beyond repair" (about John 3:22–26).[319]

Characteristic is also the way Holwerda introduces his discussion of 1Cor 12:2, Paul's contextually surprising and grammatically awkward reference to the readers' former adherence to mute idols (οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε πρὸς τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι).[320] Holwerda writes:

> All the interpreters agree on one point, namely that the connection between this verse and the preceding, and even much more the following, is very dark. I do not feel like mentioning and refuting all their different

315 The Textus Receptus has καὶ πρωΐ παραπορευόμενοι εἶδον instead of the Modern Critical Text καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρωΐ εἶδον (B C L019 *alii*). In fact, the manuscripts witness several other attempts to make the opening clause of verse 20 smoother (see CNTTS): καὶ παραπορεύετο πρωΐ καὶ ἶδον (א*), καὶ παραπορευόμενοι τὸ πρωΐ εἶδον (D05), παραπορευόμενοι δὲ πρωΐ εἶδον (Θ 565 700), καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρωΐ εἶδον ἰδόντες (Δ), καὶ πρωΐ εἶδον (1424*).

316 Michelsen, *Markus* (1867), p. 23; van Manen, van der Beke Callenfels and Baljon accept the conjecture; see [cj10440]. Van der Beke Callenfels also adds an extra argument—a strong one, in my view: πρωΐ has invaded the Markan text from Matthew 21:18 (in Matthew the cursing and withering of the fig tree both take place in the morning *before* the temple cleansing).

317 "dergelijke plaatsen te willen herstellen, even verkeerd is, als ze te willen verklaren"; Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 23.

318 "jammerlijk mishandeld"; Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 42.

319 "onherstelbaar bedorven"; Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), p. 101.

320 As to the context, Paul has just announced he is going to speak about spiritual gifts (vs. 1), which he does indeed from verse 3 onwards. As to the grammar, Gordon Fee's literal translation at once reveals the problems: "You know that when you were pagans, to mute idols whenever (or however) you would be led, being carried away" (Fee, *First Corinthians* [1987], p. 576).

> opinions and guesses. I am even less willing to venture a guess myself. Because the passage is unintelligible and very corrupt, such attempts necessarily fail.[321]

Interestingly, in three of the four cases of 'corruption beyond repair' mentioned above, there are later Dutch attempts anyway (only Luke 7:32 has been left alone).[322] This is not a coincidence. The later Dutch conjectural critics followed Holwerda in his conviction that the NT text was in need of emendation, but not in his scepticism that in most cases the original wording was lost forever. Instead, there is a much more positivistic atmosphere. The main obstacle is not the recognisability of the original, but the blind adherence to the transmitted text by the majority of biblical scholars.[323] If only critics would depart from this conservatism, their joint efforts in conjectural criticism would finally provide the world with a purified New Testament. Baljon must have thought his 1898 *Novum Testamentum Graece* was this purified text (see § 1.3).

4.3.7 *A Special Case: Holwerda Anticipating the* ECM *Conjecture on 2 Pet 3:10*

At the end of this chapter one special case merits our particular attention, and a more extensive treatment. Holwerda's conjecture on 2 Pet 3:10, already mentioned a few times, has been adopted into the text of the most important current editions of the Greek New Testament—though his name is never mentioned. This section discusses the history of the 2 Pet 3:10 conjecture from Holwerda to today.

The problem with 2 Pet 3:10 is clear. Why would the earth be 'found' when everything passes away?

> 10 But the day of the Lord will come like a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire,

321 "Al de uitleggers komen daarin overeen, dat de zamenhang van dit vs. met het voorafgaande, en nog veel meer met het volgende zeer duister is. Het lust mij niet hunne verschillende meeningen en gissingen op te tellen en te weerleggen. Nog minder wil ik zelf eene nieuwe gissing wagen. Daar de plaats onverstaanbaar en erg bedorven is, moeten dergelijke pogingen noodzakelijk mislukken" (Holwerda, *Bijdragen* [1855], p. 62).

322 See p. 207 n. 312.

323 Another difference is that in the 1850s NT conjectural emendation was still controversial in the Netherlands, whereas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century it had become the done thing. Holwerda had to operate more cautiously than the critics who followed in his footsteps.

> *and the earth and everything that is done on it will be found* (καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται). 11 Since all these things are to be dissolved in this way, … (NRSV adapted)

Instead of εὑρεθήσεται (among the few witnesses ℵ and B),[324] 'will be found', one would expect something semantically similar to the preceding expressions παρελεύσονται ('willl pass away') or καυσούμενα λυθήσεται ('will be dissolved with fire'), especially because verse 11a speaks about the dissolving of 'all these things'.[325] Such alternatives are, in fact, available in the manuscript tradition: the Majority reading κατακαήσεται ('will be burned up')[326] and the singular readings εὑρεθήσεται λυόμενα ('will be found dissolved'; 𝔓[72]) and ἀφανισθήσονται (will disappear; C).[327] However, these three readings cannot explain the rise of the *lectio difficilior* εὑρεθήσεται, whereas they themselves can be explained as solutions to the problem presented by this reading.[328] Therefore one is confronted with the classic dilemma of choosing between conjectural emendation or 'conjectural exegesis'. Regarding the latter, most exegetes take the expression to mean something like 'will be discovered *by God, in judgment*'.[329] Regarding the former, many attempts were undertaken to find a word that fits the context and could have been changed unintentionally into εὑρεθήσεται. Most of these

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324 Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [²2013] mentions as other witnesses 018 025 323 424Z 1175 1241 1448 1739T 1852 1881 S:Ph^{mss}H^{msM}. As witnesses to the plural εὑρεθήσονται 398 and A^{mss} are indicated.

325 Minuscule 1175 cleverly transposes clauses 10d and 11a, thus softening the problem (see Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [²2013]).

326 A few minuscules have the plural κατακαήσονται.

327 According to Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [²2013], manuscripts of the Armenian version support the C reading.

328 See e.g. Blumenthal, *2Petr 3,10* (2007), pp. 123–126. Another, more rigid solution to the problem is the omission of the entire clause καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται, attested by the late majuscule 044, a few minuscules and the Vulgate—except for manuscript G. This 'solution' may in fact be a case of homoeoteleuton, both in Greek (λυθήσεται … εὑρεθήσεται) and Latin ("solventur … exurentur").

329 See e.g. Lenhard, "II Ptr 3 10 d" (1961); "2Petr 3 10 d" (1978); Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (1983), pp. 316–321. Another exegetical proposal is to regard the phrase καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται as a rhetorical question; see e.g. Vögtle, *Judasbrief. 2. Petrusbrief* (1994), pp. 234–235. Al Wolters ("2 Peter 3:10" [1987]) thinks εὑρεθήσεται in 2 Pet 3:10 has the connotation 'to have survived,' 'to have stood the test,' 'to have proved genuine' (see esp. p. 410); for a refutation of this proposal, see van den Heever, "In Purifying Fire" (1993), pp. 108–109,112–113.

suggestions were brought forward in the decades around 1900—perhaps the problem was not felt broadly earlier because Lachmann and Tischendorf had still been printing the Majority reading. The below list of alternatives for εὑρεθήσεται is much longer than the discussion of conjectural emendation on this passage in recent scholarship leads one to suspect.[330]

ῥυήσεται or
ῥεύσεται ('will *flow*' [i.e. flow away]; Westcott and Hort)[331]
συρρυήσεται ('will flow together'; Naber)[332]
καταρυήσεται ('will flow down'; Mayor)[333]
ἐκρυηθήσεται ('will flow out'; Gildersleeve)[334]
ἰαθήσεται ('will be healed') or
ἐξιαθήσεται ('will be healed thoroughly'; Chase)[335]
πυρωθήσεται (Vansittart)[336] or
πυρευθήσεται (Abbott; 'will be burned';)[337]
ἐκπυρωθήσεται ('will be *burnt to* ashes'; Olivier)[338]
εὔσεται ('will be singed'; Bruce)[339]
ἀρθήσεται ('will be taken away'; Mayor)[340]
βρασθήσεται ('will be winnowed'; De Zwaan)[341]
κριθήσεται ('will be judged'; Eb. Nestle)[342]

Other conjectures detect corruption earlier in the sentence. Henry Bradshaw supposes ἔργα was originally followed by ἀργά, 'useless' ('the earth and everything that is done on it will be found useless'); ἀργά would have been lost through homoeoteleuton.[343] Ethelbert Stauffer's suggestion is even more ele-

330 Cf. e.g. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (1983), pp. 316–321.
331 Westcott and Hort, "Notes" ([1a]1882), p. 103b; see [cj10669].
332 Naber, Ἐσκαμμένα (1878), p. 98; see [cj10741].
333 Mayor, "2 Peter" (1904), p. 292; see [cj12768].
334 In Harris, "Autographs" (1882), p. 32; see [cj12780].
335 In Mayor, "2 Peter" (1904), p. 292.; see [cj12781].
336 Vansittart, "Two Triple Readings" (1871), p. 358; see [cj12782].
337 In Mayor, *Jude and 2 Peter* (1907), pp. 160–161; see [cj12783].
338 Olivier, "Correction" (1920), pp. 242–243; see [cj10668].
339 Bruce suggested this reading to Bauckham, pp. 317–318; see [cj12784].
340 Mayor, "2 Peter" (1904), p. 292; see [cj10391].
341 De Zwaan, *II Petrus en Judas* (1909), pp. 128–129; see [cj12785].
342 Introduced anonymously in N[6], mentioned under the name of Eb. Nestle from N[13] onwards; see [cj10390].
343 In Strachan, *2 Peter* (1910), p. 145; see [cj10389].

gant: originally, there was only ἀργά (τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ without ἔργα is fine Greek),[344] but ἀργά was misread as ἔργα.[345] Further back into the sentence, Philipp Buttmann Jr conjectures that τά should be printed as ἅ (καὶ γῆ καὶ ἅ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται), which makes εὑρεθήσεται refer to the 'works' only; as a result, the clause as a whole ('the earth and the things that are found in it as works') becomes connected to the preceding καυσούμενα λυθήσεται ('will be dissolved with fire').[346] Frederick W. Danker, to conclude, taking his cue from *Pss. Sol.* 17:8 (εὑρεθῆναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν), emends καὶ γῇ κατὰ τὰ (instead of καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ) ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται: 'it shall be found to the earth (i.e., the earth shall be judged) according to the works in it'.[347]

Whether by changing εὑρεθήσεται itself or by changing another part of the sentence, all these conjectures eventually do the same: they prevent it from being predicated of the earth and the works in it that they will be found. However, instead of *changing* this proposition, one can also simply *negate* it: **οὐχ** εὑρεθήσεται, 'will **not** be found'. In fact, to my knowledge, this was the first conjecture on 2 Pet 3:10, by no less a person than Jan Hendrik Holwerda.[348]

The conjecture can be found in one of the last pages of *Betrekking* (Holwerda following the order of the NT books here):

> Manuscript B has καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται. These words are unintelligible. They can, however, be recovered easily in this way: καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ [ἔργα] οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται. The phrase οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται is sometimes used in the New Testament regarding things that perish, are destroyed or disappear entirely, see Rev 16:20. The reading of manuscript C καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα ἀφανισθήσονται confirms us in our assumption that οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται is authentic. After all, ἀφανισθήσονται can only be an ill-made gloss. In explanation of the barbaric οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται, someone had

344 Cf. e.g. Rev 10:6: ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ **τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ** καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ **τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ** καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ **τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ**.

345 Stauffer, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1945), p. 304 n. 739; see [cj12787].

346 Buttmann, *NTG* (²1860), p. vii; see [cj10388].

347 Danker, "II Peter 3:10" (1962), p. 86; see [cj12788].

348 Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 128. Christian Friedrich Von Matthaei already conjectures οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται in 1804, though not as the original reading, but as an intermediate step that allows him to explain the origin of the reading εὑρεθήσεται from κατακαήσεται. See Matthaei, *NTG 2* (1804), p. 271. Granville Penn defends the B reading over against Matthaei, and in doing so also rejects Matthaei's suggestion that εὑρεθήσεται comes from οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται (*Annotations* [1837], p. 459). Thus the conjecture was already rejected before it was actually proposed. In any case, Holwerda was not aware of the discussion between Matthaei and Penn.

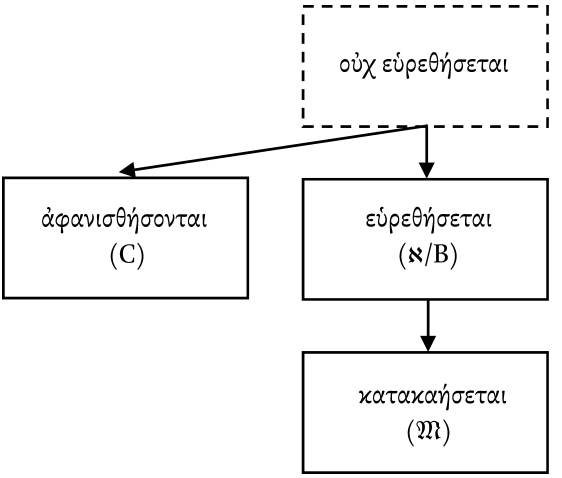


FIGURE 3 *Holwerda's stemma for the end of 2 Pet 3:10*

> written the genuine Greek ἀφανισθήσεται[349] in the margin. The reading of the other codices, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα κατακαήσεται, is a completely failed improvement of κ. τ. ἐ. α. ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται.[350]

Holwerda's local stemma is represented by Figure 3.

Holwerda's conjecture, though less subtle than all the brilliant substitutions discussed above, has much to recommend it. The scenario of corruption it presupposes—the unintentional omission of a small word—is abundantly attested in manuscripts.[351] Especially negatives, the loss of which does not

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349 Here Holwerda, consciously or subconsciously, complicates matters even further, by assuming that the marginal note that would have led to the C reading was a third-person singular verb, the reading of C itself being third-person plural.

350 "Het Ms. B heeft καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται. Deze woorden zijn onverstaanbaar. Zij kunnen echter gemakkelijk worden hersteld, op deze wijze: καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ [ἔργα] οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται. De phrase οὐχ εὑρίσκεσθαι wordt in het N. T. wel eens gebruikt van dingen, die geheel en al vergaan, vernietigd of verdwenen zijn, zie Openb. XVI: 20. De lezing van Ms. C καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα ἀφανισθήσονται bevestigt ons in het vermoeden, dat οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται echt is. Immers ἀφανισθήσονται kan niet anders zijn, dan eene misvormde glosse. De een of ander had ter verklaring van het barbaarsche οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται het echt Grieksche ἀφανισθήσεται op den rand gezet. De lezing der overige codices καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα κατακαήσεται is geheel en al mislukte verbetering van κ. τ. ἐ. α. ἔργα εὑρεθήσεται" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 128).

351 E.g. Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (^{3}1991), p. 226.

harm syntactical structure, were vulnerable.[352] Besides, there are more examples of the absolute use of the expression οὐχ εὑρεθῆναι in the context of divine judgment than the one mentioned by Holwerda (Rev 16:20, ὄρη οὐχ εὑρέθησαν, 'the mountains will not be found').[353]

Be that as it may, Holwerda's proposal sank into oblivion. After van Vloten, van de Sande Bakhuyzen and Kleyn had approved of the conjecture,[354] Baljon judged it less plausible than Naber's conjecture συρρυήσεται (see above).[355] In his *Novum Testamentum Graece*, a Noah's ark for Dutch conjectures, Baljon did not even mention Holwerda in the apparatus at 2 Pet 3:10. The textual problem was broadly felt in the decades around 1900, but scholars were generally more prone to come up with their own conjecture than to scrutinise literature—let alone Dutch literature—in search of a conjecture already made. The last publication in which I have found the name Holwerda in connection with his conjecture on 2 Pet 3:10 is de Zwaan's 1907 textual commentary on 2 Peter and Jude.[356]

Although twentieth century scholarship did not know the reading οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται as a proposal by Holwerda, the reading as such was not forgotten. Indeed, since 1865 every scholar studying the textual problem of 2 Pet 3:10 came across the reading οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται. In that year Tregelles published the third volume of his *Greek Testament*, containing Acts and the Catholic Epistles. At 2 Pet 3:10 he printed εὑρεθήσεται, and in the apparatus he reported as attestation for this reading: "BאK. Syrr.Bdl.Hel.*mg*.Theb.Arm. (praem. "non" Bdl. Theb.)." Here, between brackets, Tregelles introduces the reading οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται *as the Greek text reflected by manuscripts of Syriac and Sahidic versions*.[357] The abbre-

352 See e.g. North, "Adultery" (2009).

353 Notably *Pss. Sol.* 14:9: καὶ οὐχ εὑρεθήσονται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐλέους δικαίων ('and they will not be found on the day of mercy for the righteous,' translation Wright, "Psalms of Solomon" [1985], p. 664); Rev 18:21: οὕτως ὁρμήματι βληθήσεται Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἔτι ('with such violence Babylon the great city will be thrown down, and will be found no more'). Bauckham points out that this specific use of the expression οὐχ εὑρεθῆναι is a Hebraism; in Hebrew, **נמצא** (the nifal conjugation of **מצא**) 'to be found', can mean as much as 'to be, to exist', and can, consequently, also be used in the negative to refer to someone who or something which ceases to exist (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (1983), p. 317).

354 Van Vloten, review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* (1853), p. 301; van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek* (1880), pp. 299–300; Kleyn, *Baradeüs* (1882), p. 207.

355 Baljon "2 Petrus" (1893), pp. 74–75.

356 De Zwaan, *II Petrus en Judas* (1909), p. 127. In his 1912 NT translation Henricus van Oort follows Holwerda's conjecture without referring to him (*NT* [1912], pp. 484–485).

357 In fact, Granville Penn already pointed to the Sahidic evidence in 1837 (*Annotations*,

viation 'Bdl.' refers to a Syriac manuscript of Acts and the Catholic Epistles. The text of the four Minor Catholic Epistles in this manuscript is one of the witnesses to a post-Peshitta translation traditionally regarded as the 'Philoxenian version'.[358] The manuscript concerned, property of the Oxford Bodleian Library,[359] was published in 1630 by Edward Pocock.[360] Tregelles' 'Theb.' stands for 'Thebaic' and refers to the southern Coptic dialect which is called 'Sahidic' today. A Sahidic New Testament had been available since Henry Ford published the rich scholarly legacy of Charles Godfrey Woide in 1799.[361]

At 2 Pet 3:10 Pocock found the reading ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲓ ⲛⲁ in his Bodleian manuscript; in the one Sahidic manuscript, also from the Bodleian library,[362] that Woide had at his disposal for 2 Pet 2:12–3:18, he found ⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ. Pocock and Woide both correctly translated their respective exemplar as "non reperientur"—(they) will not be found.[363]

Around 1900, the reception of the versional reading introduced by Tregelles was moderate.[364] This was probably due to Westcott and Hort's judgment that this reading should be regarded, alongside the C and 𝔐 reading, as an early response to the 'great difficulty' of εὑρεθήσεται. The latter reading, in the meantime shown to be also the reading of Codex Sinaiticus, was "doubtless itself a corruption of ῥυήσεται (ῥεύσεται) or of one of its compounds" (a conjecture already mentioned above).[365] In the following decades, as we have seen, not only such compounds of ῥυήσεται, but many other alternatives to εὑρεθήσεται would be suggested. By the time Erwin Nestle succeeded his father Eberhard

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p. 459), and van Vloten in 1853 to the Syriac evidence (review of Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 301).

358 Its identification with the sixth-century Syriac NT translation issued by the Miaphysite bishop Philoxenus cannot, however, be ascertained (see e.g. Williams, "Syriac Versions" [2013], p. 153).

359 This manuscript, probably dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century (see Gwynn, *Remnants I* [1909], p. liv; see also p. 1), is catalogued as "Oriental 119" in the Bodleian Library; it is labelled "Ph8" in Aland et al., *ECM 4.2* (²2013), p. 86.

360 Pocock, *Epistolae quatuor* (1630).

361 Woide, *Appendix* (1799).

362 This paper manuscript of Acts and the Catholic Epistles is catalogued as "Huntington 394" in the Bodleian Library; in Aland et al., *ECM 4.2* (²2013), p. 73, it is labelled "sa 34".

363 ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲓ in fact is a third-person singular (female); cf. the Sahidic manuscripts that have a singular in 2 Pet 3:10 as well (see p. 216 n. 370).

364 I have only found a few instances of acceptance outside of the Netherlands in this period, including Bigg (*Peter and Jude* [1901], p. 213), Moffatt (*NT* [1913], p. 298 c. b) and Schmiedel ("Geleitwort und Anhänge" [1932], p. 26).

365 Westcott and Hort, "Notes" (¹ª1882), p. 103b.

(1927, N^{13}), he reflected the scholarly despair by mentioning in the apparatus, besides the versional οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται, no fewer than seven conjectures on 2 Pet 3:10.[366]

The second half of the twentieth century, the climate in NT texual criticism being unfavourable for conjectures, showed a revival of the Alexandrian reading. It was printed as text by the UBS committee (though qualified with the letter 'D', which denotes the highest level of uncertainty), and towards the end of the century defended in major commentary series.[367] Yet doubts never ceased. Some scholars broke a lance for $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$'s εὑρεθήσεται λυόμενα;[368] others wondered whether the Sahidic reflects the original reading here.[369]

Then, at the turn of the millennium, there was the bold decision of the ECM editors: they printed as text the reading οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται, referring to the Syriac and Sahidic versions, as well as to the Coptic dialect *V*.[370] In a defence of their decision Gerd Mink, however, does not hide behind the versional attes-

366 Besides Westcott and Hort's conjecture (already mentioned in N^{1-12}) and Eb. Nestle's own one (already mentioned anonymously in N^{6-12}), Erwin Nestle mentions the conjectures of Buttmann (dropped in NA^{26-27}), Bradshaw, Naber, Olivier, and Mayor. This still is, as I have shown, only a sample of all conjectures made on the end of 2 Pet 3:10.

367 E.g. in the WBC series (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (1983), pp. 316–321), the KEK series (Paulsen, *Zweiter Petrusbrief und Judasbrief* [1992], pp. 167–168), the AB series (Neyrey, *2 Peter. Jude* [1993], pp. 243–244) and the EKK series (Vögtle, *Judasbrief. 2. Petrusbrief* [1994], pp. 234–235).

368 E.g. Grundmann, *Judas and 2 Petrus* (1974), p. 117.

369 E.g. Schüssler, *Katholische Briefe 2* (1991), p. 38.

370 According to the *ECM*, 10 out of the 21 manuscripts known today as containing a Philoxenian 2 Peter have ⲙⲡⲉϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ; the other 11 omit the negation ⲛⲁⲓ (Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* [^{2}2013]). The Sahidic attestation for an equivalent of οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται is unanimous, the only variation between the manuscripts known today as containg 2 Pet 3:10 being an alternative form of the negation (ⲛ … ⲁⲛ in 15 34 603 605 over against ⲁⲛ in 33) and the use of the plural ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ (15 34) over against the singular ⲉⲣⲟⲩ (33, 603 and 605); see Schmitz, *Verhältnis* (2003), p. 456. The sole witness for the Coptic translation of the Catholic Epistles in the dialect labelled 'V' by the *ECM* editors (Aland et al., *ECM 4.2* [^{2}2013], p. 77), the early fourth century Papyrus Michigan 3520, has lacunae at many points in verse 10, including the place where an equivalent of οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται could have been found. However, the editors of this manuscript, Hans-Martin Schenke and Rodolphe Kasser, assume that the text contained the expression ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ, which they translate as 'nicht wird man finden' (*Papyrus Michigan 3520 und 6868(a)* [2003], pp. 180–181). According to Blumenthal, it is equally possible that the missing piece of text did not contain a negation (*2Petr 3,10* [2007], pp. 72–74). Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* (^{2}2013) regard Papyrus Michigan 3520 as supporting their conjecture 'ut videtur'.

tation,[371] but speaks about οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται as an 'almost unavoidable conjecture'.[372] Interestingly, he uses the same twofold argumentation as Holwerda, pointing not only to the nonsense produced by εὑρεθήσεται, but also constructing a stemmatic problem by treating the C reading as independent of the ℵ/B reading. Unlike Holwerda, however (and less convincing, in my view), he grants the 𝔐 reading a similar position in the stemma. The 𝔓[72] reading he regards, naturally, as an 'old conjecture' on the ℵ/B reading.[373] Figure 4 shows what happened according to Mink.

Of course the adoption into the Modern Critical Text of a second conjecture, besides Clericus' conjecture on Acts 16:12,[374] has not gone by unnoticed.[375]

But whether or not the editors rightly printed οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται (I think they did), the history of scholarship as sketched above shows that this reading did not come out of the blue. There is a rich tradition of conjectural criticism on this passage, and of all conjectures proposed, the addition of a negation evidently has been most successful, especially in the Netherlands.

The history of οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται from Holwerda until *ECM* is yet another example of 'conjectural amnesia'. In my view, the name of Holwerda should have been mentioned in the apparatus of the *ECM* edition at 2 Pet 3:10 as the first scholar who proposed this conjecture, even unaware of the versional attestation.[376]

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371 Mink mentions the versional evidence in a footnote, and comments: "Either the original variant truly survived here—which is at any rate quite possible for the Sahidic—or this variant is also already a conjecture" ("Problems" [2004], p. 79 n. 36).

372 Mink, "Problems" (2004), p. 27.

373 Mink, "Problems" (2004), p. 27, and p. 79 n. 36. Following Westcott and Hort ("Notes", [1a1882], p. 103b), Blumenthal thinks the C and 𝔐 readings are such 'old conjectures' on the ℵ/B reading as well (*2Petr 3,10* [2007], pp. 123–126]).

374 The reading adopted as text in NA[26–28], πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, is a conjecture by Clericus; see [cj10084]. In the meantime, the *ECM* has returned to the manuscript reading πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις (see for their defence Wachtel, "Commentary" [2017], pp. 23–24). In the same Acts instalment, however, they have also adopted a new conjecture, namely τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῖν in Acts 13:33 (see Wachtel, "Commentary" [2017], p. 20), a conjecture probably first proposed by Friedrich August Bornemann in 1848 (see [cj10092]).

375 The most extensive response is Christian Blumenthal's *2Petr 3,10* (2007), entirely devoted to the text-critical problems of 2 Pet 3:10 (which are not limited to the final word). Blumenthal, who (surprisingly) entirely neglects the conjectural criticism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, appeals for a return to the ℵ/B reading.

376 Similarly, Bornemann should have been mentioned in the apparatus of the *ECM* Acts edition at 13:33/16 (cf. n. 374 in this chapter).

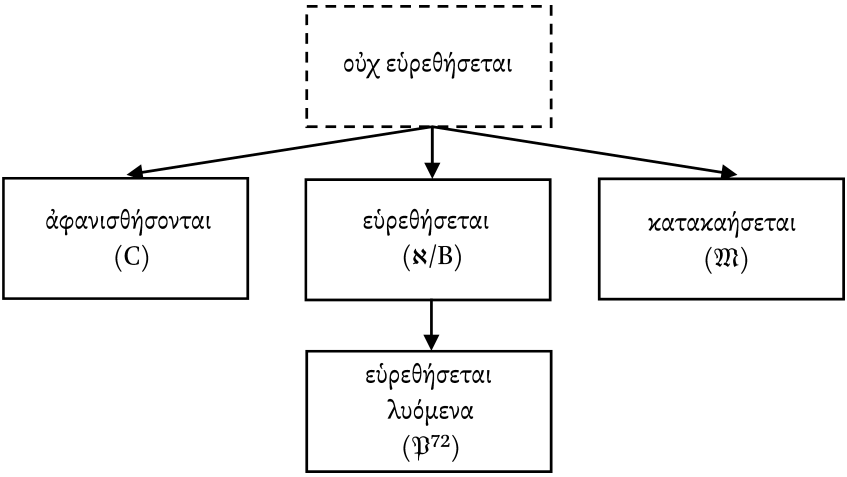


FIGURE 4 *Mink's stemma for the end of 2 Pet 3:10*

As an afterthought, one more thing needs to be said about Holwerda's involvement with 2 Pet 3:10. Immediately after the words quoted above, Holwerda goes on to make another conjecture on this verse:

> Yet there are reasons to regard this ἔργα as suspicious as well. The exegetes disagree as to *whose* works are meant here—God's? Those of humankind?—or perhaps those of both, God and humankind? Besides, one can wonder *which* works we should think of. It is always a bad sign when opinions differ so much. Personally, I would cross out the word confidently.[377]

The implied scenario of corruption here is one of intentional 'improvement', namely the addition of ἔργα by someone who thought the expression τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ was too vague. The combination of both conjectures, which for Holwerda apparently are unrelated, boils down, surprisingly, to the substitution of οὐχ for ἔργα.[378]

377 "Doch ook dat ἔργα is niet zonder grond verdacht. De uitleggers zijn het oneens, *wiens* werken hier bedoeld worden—die van God?—of die van de menschen?—of wel die van beiden, van God en van de menschen? Men kan ook nog vragen, aan *welke* werken wij te denken hebben? Een dergelijk verschil van gevoelens is altijd een kwaad teeken. Ik voor mij zoude het woord gerust doorhalen" (Holwerda, *Betrekking* [1853], p. 128).

378 Was Holwerda aware of this? Perhaps he was, though he was, being unable though to come up with a convincing single scenario of corruption (ογχ is not so easily misread as εργα). In any case, Holwerda would undoubtedly have been charmed by Stauffer's 1948 conjecture,

4.4 Conclusion

As regards the quantitative analysis of Holwerda's conjectures, it appears, first, that these are rather evenly spread over the different biblical books. Analysis also revealed that the most frequent types of problems in Holwerda's conjectural criticism are philological and PR-content problems. Philological problems are often solved by postulating misperception as cause and by proposing a substitution. The group of conjectures based on PR-content problems is more diverse regarding the cause scenario: not only misperception (typical operation: substitution), but also confusion in the form of lipography (typical operation: addition) and even intentional change in the form of explanation (typical operation: omission) occur frequently here.

Section 4.3.2 discussed several conjectures involving PR-content problems: those on John 8:25, 1 Cor 3:4, 1 Tim 2:15, Acts 18:5, Mark 15:36, 1 Tim 5:13, Matt 14:3, Acts 27:27, Matt 8:9 // Luke 7:8, 1 Cor 16:2 and Rom 12:3. The conjectures on 2 Cor 3:3 and 2 Pet 3:10 discussed elsewhere also involve PR-content problems. The discussion of each single conjecture is worthwhile in itself: not only did some conjectures appear to be serious alternatives to conjectural explanations or philological broadmindedness, but also in nearly all cases the problem mercilessly laid bare by the emendation is still felt today. Yet some general remarks are in order here.

First, it is striking to see that in difficult passages in general all exegetical options available today were already available in the mid-nineteenth century (see for example John 8:25). This means there is no excuse for ignoring nineteenth-century conjectures as products of an age in which they did not know any better.

Second, it appears there is a specific occasion for Holwerda's PR-content conjectures, besides the general occasions for his conjectures mentioned in chapter 2 (van Hengel's translation proposals and Tischendorf's editorial decisions) and chapter 3 (TR readings as failed emendations and awkward B readings as vestiges of the original). This specific occasion is strong disagreement among the exegetes. If a certain passage is explained in three or more ways, this is a sign that something is wrong.

A third observation concerns conjectures from which a corruption scenario cannot be deduced at once. Holwerda only makes a few such conjectures (e.g.

ἄργα for ἔργα (mentioned in main text above), which solves all problems felt by Holwerda through the change of a single letter.

ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας for ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος in Luke 7:8), but does not make any effort in such cases to convince his readers of the plausibiliy of the assumed corruption (thus being guilty of the same neglect he accuses Cobet of). This undoubtedly has something to do with Holwerda's view of the early transmission of the New Testament: careless transmission justifies heavy conjectures. However, if a conjecture consists in the change of a single letter, Holwerda sometimes gladly makes the effort to demonstrate how easily this corruption could happen. So rhetorical strategy may also have played a role: expounding on a corruption scenario that involves several steps may weaken the case for a conjecture.

In the analysis of Holwerda's philological conjectures most attention has been paid to Holwerda's approach to unclassical uses of εἰς and ἐν, as well as to unclassical combinations of conjunctions and moods. Under Cobet's influence Holwerda ascribed certain Hellenistic grammatical developments to the carelessness of scribes, who supposedly made the same mistake in different passages. Therefore, with the exception of a few indicative/subjunctive conjectures, most of Holwerda's textual decisions concerning εἰς/ἐν and indicative/subjunctive are overtaken by time.

Yet Holwerda's superseded philological conjectures remain interesting as historical artifacts. They illustrate the state of affairs in NT grammar in the mid-nineteenth century. Though many scholars then thought Winer's grammar had sufficiently explained all NT peculiarities, Holwerda rightly recognised several explanations were forced and inadequate. Of course Holwerda's solutions were sometimes rigid: why would a scribe unintentionally write εἰς for ἐν? Yet Holwerda felt supported by the great Cobet, who confirmed to him that those sleepy scribes were capable of anything. Besides that, Holwerda was misled by the fact that the manuscripts often offer both a 'correct' and an 'incorrect' reading. He seems to have overlooked the possibility that the 'correct' readings testify to Atticism, instead of the 'incorrect' ones to sloppiness among copyists of the New Testament.

Holwerda's 'one conjecture fits all' corrections of με into ἐμέ and καί into κἄν reveal the same Cobetian pursuit of clean grammar. However, these conjectures deserve more serious attention than they have received, and at least raise questions about the all too slavish obedience to the best manuscripts in the Modern Critical Text. Holwerda made several other, 'singular' philological conjectures. Of these, the syntactical conjectures appear the most interesting because most of the time Holwerda emends a B reading that is not the MCT reading (cf. the last paragraph of this section). In section 4.3.4 most attention was paid to Holwerda's elegant conjecture on Luke 10:42 as an example of solv-

ing a stemmatic problem, and to his proposal to consider Mark 1:1–3 the result of several attempts to provide this Gospel with an opening.

Section 4.3.5 highlighted a substantial group of conjectures in the cause dimension, namely all Holwerda conjectures that omit a supposedly inserted gloss. The section demonstrated a natural connection between PR-style problems and insertion of a gloss as corruption cause. Holwerda's proposal to omit καρδίαις from 2 Cor 3:3, accepted by Erwin Nestle, was treated at length, and placed in the history of the scholarly struggle with the clause concerned. Since Holwerda's conjecture eventually was not adopted into the Modern Critical Text, modern Bible translators have to solve the problem themselves. In Holwerda's words, they are forced to translate *at a guess*, now that they cannot translate *from a guess*.

The section about semi-conjectures showed that Holwerda's semi-conjectures can be divided into two groups: either he thinks the passage can be restored, but he does not yet know how; or he thinks any attempt to emend is futile. Interestingly, not only the former but also the latter semi-conjectures inspired later Dutch critics such as Michelsen to make full conjectures; they inherited Holwerda's criticism, not his scepticism.

Holwerda's conjecture on 2 Pet 3:10 is exceptional, not only because it eventually ended up in the Modern Critical Text (though not under the name of its *Urheber*). This conjecture is also an a-typical Holwerda conjecture because it has so much theological impact. It makes all the difference whether the world will be found or not be found on judgment day.[379] As we have seen, however, Holwerda is in general very cautious in making conjectures on theologically sensitive passages. He realised there was a general distrust towards conjectural criticism of the Bible text; theologically charged conjectures could reinforce this distrust. By contrast, philological conjectures or 'small' conjectures such as the omission of καρδίαις from 2 Cor 3:3 were well suited to convince suspicious scholars that sometimes conjectures were needed. However, Holwerda was also simply a philologist first and foremost, not a theologian. It probably was not difficult for him to refrain from adapting bibical texts to his theological views. Holwerda did not have so many theological views, having lost the most part of his Christian faith after Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu*. Yet his zeal for restoring

379 Cf. e.g. Wim Rietkerk, in whose theology of restoration the Alexandrian reading of 2 Pet 3:10 plays an important role—God will not destroy this earth, so Christians should be responsible stewards (*Titanic* [2009], especially pp. 35–46).

the grammar and meaning of even the least important sentences in the New Testament was almost religious.

Holwerda's 2 Pet 3:10 is not only an exceptional conjecture. It is also illustrative of the important role Codex Vaticanus plays in Holwerda's conjectural criticism. Because Holwerda attached so much weight to this manuscript, he took its awkward reading εὑρεθήσεται in this passage seriously—over against Tischendorf, who had still printed the unproblematic Majority reading κατακαήσεται. Chapter 4 provides several other examples of Holwerda being the first to sense a problem not felt earlier because the awkward singular (or subsingular)[380] B reading was neglected. Often these readings appeared to be the reading of Codex Sinaiticus and/or the papyri as well, and eventually ended up in the Modern Critical Text. But in many cases this B reading remained singular or subsingular, and therefore neglected until today. This is the group of seventeen conjectures referred to in § 3.5.3. These Holwerda conjectures deserve special attention, because often the awkward B reading is not easily explained as a corruption of the MCT reading, whereas the opposite commends itself naturally. A striking example is Holwerda's convincing proposal to insert πότε in Matt 14:3, which may explain the origin of the impossible B reading τότε, whereas the MCT reading (absence of τότε) cannot explain it.

380 The term 'subsingular' is used here in its Hortian, qualitative meaning; see Epp, "Clarification" (1976), p. 162.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.1 Three Paradoxes

The central question that guided this research was how Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism should be understood. The subquestions provided three angles on the subject: *Sitz im Leben* (ch. 2), theoretical aspects (ch. 3) and the nature of the specific conjectures and their place in the scholarship on the passages concerned (ch. 4). The concluding sections of the three main chapters of this dissertation have provided detailed answers to the three subquestions. This section views Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism once again from all three angles, sketching three paradoxes that jointly capture the essence of Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism.

Holwerda was both a son of Leiden and an opponent of Leiden; that is the first paradox. Holwerda was inspired by the Leiden classicists Bake, Peerlkamp, Geel and their 'radical criticism'. He followed in their footsteps with an impressive text-critical study of Josephus, with plenty of conjectures. Only when his plan for an *editio critica maior* of Josephus' works fell through did he start to focus on the New Testament. Geel wanted him to occupy van Hengel's chair in Leiden, but this *eminence grise* of Dutch NT scholarship prevented this. In 1853 Holwerda responded by fiercely attacking van Hengel's specimen of a NT translation with a booklet in which he frankly applied the radical criticism of the Leiden *classici* to the New Testament. After having also opposed Scholten, the Leiden liberal dogmatician, Holwerda became *persona non grata* to the Leiden theological faculty. Eventually all of this even led to a rift with Cobet, the genius of the Leiden Radical School, who took the side of his theological colleagues. With Holwerda's 1866 extensive critical review of Cobet's edition of Xenophon's Ἑλληνικά the opposition to Leiden from the son of Leiden came to a head. Holwerda had completely alienated himself from Leiden University, which dominated theology and classical studies in the Netherlands in the mid-nineteenth century. All of this hindered the reception of his NT conjectural criticism during his 'New Testament years'. Only later was he found to have exerted a decisive influence on the next generation of Dutch NT philologists.

A second paradox is that Holwerda built on the two manuscripts that were considered the most ancient—Codex Vaticanus and Codex Ephraemi Rescrip-

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tus—, yet he made many conjectures exactly because he regarded the most ancient reading as unacceptable. In other words, Holwerda elevated the most ancient manuscripts and then often went beyond them. His radical choice in favour of the most ancient manuscripts, especially Codex Vaticanus, makes him a textual critic at the forefront of the developments of his day; in this regard, he was even (like Tregelles and simultaneously with him) ahead of Tischendorf, who needed Codex Sinaiticus to make the same definitive choice in favour of the Alexandrian text. But in going beyond Vaticanus Holwerda was on his own; Tischendorf and Tregelles both rejected conjectural emendation absolutely.

Holwerda's internal reasoning was very unlike Lachmann's mechanical external procedure. Yet in stating that moving towards the most ancient manuscripts increases the need for conjectural emendation, Holwerda unwittingly sided with the Berlin classicist. Also, the combination of radically preferring Codex Vaticanus and applying conjectural emendation makes Holwerda a precursor of Westcott and Hort.[1] In short, in "the single most significant fifty-year period in the history of New Testament textual criticism"[2] conjectural emendation was important at the beginning (Lachmann) and at the end (Westcott and Hort). In the heart of this period, conjectural emendation was put aside in Germany (Tischendorf) and England (Tregelles), but kept alive in the Netherlands (Holwerda). If we consider ourselves heirs of the nineteenth-century, we have to relate to the fact that conjectural emendation played an important role for several critics who were bringing about the paradigm shift from Textus Receptus to Modern Critical Text.

The above already anticipates the third paradox: Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism should be seen as both a window on his own time and a window on the future of the field. Especially some of Holwerda's philological conjectures as well as his semi-conjectures give us information about Holwerda and his day. They reveal that several peculiarities of NT Greek were not yet well understood in the mid-nineteenth century, however groundbreaking Winer's work was. They also demonstrate that Holwerda was influenced by Cobet, who advocated 'one conjecture fits all' solutions for grammatical anomalies. Ironically, Holwerda appears to be most out of date when his conjectures are most evidently Cobetian.

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1 For examples of conjectural emendation in the text of Westcott and Hort, see § 4.3.5.2 and § 4.3.7. For a more extensive treatment of Westcott and Hort's NT conjectural emendation, see chapter 5 in Krans, *Method and History* 2 (forthcoming).

2 Epp, "Decision Points" (1989), p. 80.

Yet the fourth chapter has also shown that in many cases the problem Holwerda struggled with has not been resolved after him by better exegetical proposals. Moreover, his high appreciation of Codex Vaticanus led him to detect several problems that have unjustly been ignored in subsequent scholarship. Therefore several of Holwerda's conjectures would merit attention in commentaries and lexicons, if only for their 'diagnostic' quality. One could even go one step further: some Holwerda conjectures are, in my opinion, serious candidates for adoption into the critical text. Of course this has, indirectly, already happened with Holwerda's οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται in 2 Pet 3:10. But there are more conjectures that are by no means less convincing, such as Holwerda's proposals for Matt 14:3, Mark 13:7, Luke 13:28, Acts 21:26, 2 Cor 3:3 and 1 Tim 5:13 (to mention only examples that have been discussed).

The present one-sided negative image of nineteenth-century NT conjectural criticism (see § 1.7) confirms the status quo of NT textual criticism in the school of Aland and Metzger. The field should remain forever grateful for what these scholars have accomplished, but not for their rejection of conjectural emendation.[3] Indeed, Aland and Metzger exemplified an anti-conjecture climate that only very recently has begun to lose some of its force.[4] Yet NT conjectural emendation is still controversial. It is not for nothing that Ryan Wettlaufer recently devoted an entire dissertation to a fundamental defence of it.[5] The present study supports Wettlaufer's defence: by showing that several of Holwerda's proposals are still relevant at the very least, it reinforces Wettlaufer's plea for a rehabilitation of NT conjectural emendation.

5.2 Future Research

At several points during this investigation into Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism other research possibilities surfaced. First of all, Holwerda's conjectural

3 Aland's rejection of NT conjectural emendation is absolute (see e.g. Aland and Aland, *Text* [^{2}1989], p. 280), while Metzger accepts the theoretical possibility of a lost original reading (Metzger and Ehrman, *Text* [^{4}2005], pp. 230–231). About the negative view on NT conjectural emendation in the second half of the twentieth century, see further Wettlaufer, *No Longer Written* (2013), pp. 12–14.

4 Some leading scholars have declared themselves cautiously in favour of NT conjectural criticism in recent years. See e.g. Ulrich B. Schmid, "Scribes and Variants" (2008), p. 23; J. Keith Elliott, *New Testament Textual Criticism* (2010), p. 8; Michael W. Holmes, "Text and Transmission" (2011), pp. 67–68.

5 Wettlaufer, *No Longer Written* (2013).

criticism of Philo and Josephus are worthy of investigation. It would be especially worthwhile to analyse these conjectures by means of the classification used in this study, so that a comparison can be made between Holwerda's conjectural criticism of different corpora. Another highly relevant research subject would be Cobet's conjectural criticism on Xenophon's Ἑλληνικά and its critical reception by Holwerda.

An analysis of, for example, Michelsen's NT conjectures would allow a comparison between Holwerda and a relevant other NT scholar. Much preliminary work for such investigations has already been done: the *Amsterdam Database* contains complete collections of conjectures by several critics. Furthermore, the model of the present study with its tripartite structure—history, theory, conjectures—and its analysis by means of a comprehensive classification can easily be adopted by other critics. Such research will not only enhance our knowledge of (nineteenth-century) NT conjectural criticism, but also bring to the fore other conjectures with lasting relevance.

The time is ripe for the type of research subjects mentioned above. Here a fourth paradox comes into play: exactly because we live in a new, digital age, we are much better equipped to unearth the treasures of a distant past than scholars of a nearer past have been. The present research could not have been performed the way it has without today's enormously digital availability of sources from before the twentieth century. When, for example, all the editions of Winer, de Wette and Tischendorf are always only one click away, it is no longer time-consuming to figure out the philogical state of the art in a specific time frame. And though optical character recognition of older fonts is still far from flawless, as a heuristic tool it has been of great benefit in the present study.

The digital age opens up great possibilities for humanities research in general. Yet in the field of NT studies it should be stressed that there is especially much to gain in the realm of textual criticism, grammar and exegesis—the realm of philology. The historiography of NT scholarship has tended to focus on the big ideas and controversial claims of scholars such as Reimarus, Baur and Bousset. This is understandable. Van de Sande Bakhuzen already remarked that it is easier to review "works with a somewhat philosophical content, or which at least contain a chain of reasoning" than "several exegetical remarks and conjectures" (see § 1.1).[6] Yet this focus on grand narratives and bold positions,

6 "werken, wier inhoud eenigszins wijsgeerig is, die althans eene aaneengeschakelde redeneering behelzen … een aantal exegetische opmerkingen en conjecturen" (van de Sande Bakhuyzen, "Holwerda" [1886], pp. 84–85).

which are inevitably one-sided or superseded, may lead us to treat scholars from before the twentieth century as portraits in a museum, not as 'colleagues' we should interact with.

In the realm of lower criticism there is much more continuity between nineteenth-century and present-day scholarship than in the realm of higher criticism. In some respects, they were even better equipped then than we are now: their command of Latin provided them full access to NT scholarship from before the nineteenth century, and their command of Greek provided them an 'immediacy' in the interpretation of the New Testament that will never be imitated by even the smartest software functionalities. We should not neglect the older philology.

5.3 Epilogue

The present study has shown, I hope, that there is yet another, no less important reason for investigating critics of bygone times: the critics and the bygone times themselves. History of philology research is rich because it is layered. The first layer is, in our case, the NT text that lies on both our desks and those of past scholars. They tried to understand, and we are trying to understand while looking over the shoulders of our predecessors. But then our view is widened: we look at the past scholars themselves, at their desks, at the other books on the desks, at the letters in the drawers, and all of this we try to understand as well—the second layer.

When we examine this second layer, it appears that scholarship is inextricably bound up with the lived lives of the scholars. Holwerda saw himself as a detached truth seeker who worked 'purely scientifically'—the self-image of modern scholarship. Yet my investigation shows that many aspects of Holwerda's publications can only be understood against the background of his life and his personality. Indeed, Holwerda's career as a NT scholar was seriously impeded and even came to an untimely end because he was not able to play the social game of academia.

In the introduction I have argued that there are plenty of sound scholarly reasons for investigating Holwerda's NT conjectural criticism, and without these reasons I would not have committed myself to this subject. Yet these reasons did not come first. The initial impetus came from a sense of excitement, something like finding a treasure hidden in a field. I was drawn to this pioneer with his shrewd observations, his no-nonsense writing style and his resistance to the establishment, through which he eventually sidelined himself. Here is a final

paradox: precisely because Holwerda's is a rather tragic story, he fascinated me, which led to a dissertation devoted to his life and scholarship, a century and a half after he published his last NT conjectures.

APPENDIX 1

Overview of Holwerda's Conjectures

This appendix offers an overview of all Holwerda conjectures.[1] The table consists of four columns, which are first clarified.

Reference. The 5-digit number under the Biblical reference is the catalogue number of the conjecture in the *Amsterdam Database*. Here one can find additional information such as complete citations and reception history.[2]

Conjecture. In most cases, Holwerda made his conjecture (cj) on the text that is still common today, the Modern Critical Text (MCT). If he made his conjecture on a different text, this text is also provided (TR, B, C or L019). The conjecture only concerns the part of the Greek text that is in bold type; Greek text in regular type is provided for a better understanding of problem and solution.

Classification. Only the dimensions of problem (pr) and cause (c) are provided (type of operation is evident from the conjecture itself). If there is a stemmatic problem, the causes (and, if applicable, the other problem or problems) are related to the readings they belong to respectively. If both readings have the same type of cause and/or problem, the reference is '(2)'.

Page. In the rightmost column the reader is referred to the pages on which the conjecture is discussed (but not all conjectures are discussed). For an overview of all references to NT texts, see the Index of Ancient Writings.

1 See § 4.2.2 for the criteria of inclusion of conjectures in this overview.

2 Krans, Lietaert Peerbolte et al., *Amsterdam Database* (2016); see http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/nt-conjectures.

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Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Matt 1:9	MCT	**ἐβουλήθη λάθρᾳ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν**	pr	PR-content	
[cj12460]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Matt 2:22	MCT	τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ **Ἡρῴδου**	pr	stemmatic	188n233,
[cj12284]	TR	**Ἡρῴδου** τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ		PR-style (2)	195, 200
	cj	τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ	c	explanation (2)	
Matt 8:9	MCT	ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι **ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν**	pr	PR-content	167–169
[cj10611]	cj	ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι **ἐπ᾽ ἐξουσίας**	c	*unclear*	
Matt 8:12	MCT	**οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται**	pr	*unclear*	
[cj12461]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Matt 8:33	MCT	ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα **καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων**	pr c	PR-style explanation	188, 196, 200
[cj10612]	cj	ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα			
Matt 9:33	MCT	οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ	pr	PR-content	158n59
[cj12301]	cj	οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως **ὁ θεὸς** ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ	c	haplography	
Matt 11:28	MCT	δεῦτε πρός **με** πάντες	pr	philological	183–185
[cj12311]	cj	δεῦτε πρὸς **ἐμὲ** πάντες	c	similarity	
Matt 12:21	MCT	**καὶ** τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν	pr	philological	185
[cj12318]	cj	**κἂν** τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν	c	similarity	
Matt 12:48	MCT	εἶπεν **τῷ λέγοντι** αὐτῷ	pr	stemmatic	188n233,
[cj10613]	TR	εἶπεν **τῷ εἰπόντι** αὐτῷ		PR-style (2)	196, 200
	cj	εἶπεν αὐτῷ	c	explanation (2)	
Matt 14:3	MCT	κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην	pr	PR-content	165–166
[cj12322]	B	**τότε** κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην	c	similarity	
	cj	**πότε** κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην			
Matt 16:11	MCT	**προσέχετε … Σαδδουκαίων**	pr	PR-content	158–159,
[cj10615]	cj	*omit*	c	explanation	196, 200

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Matt 16:28	MCT	ἐρχόμενον **ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ** αὐτοῦ	pr	philological	174–177
[cj12331]	cj	ἐρχόμενον **εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν** αὐτοῦ	c	language error	
Matt 21:16	MCT	οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε **ὅτι**	pr	philological	186
[cj12348]	cj	οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε **τό**	c	similarity	
Matt 24:38	MCT	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκείναις] **ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ**	pr	PR-style	188, 196,
[cj12364]			c	explanation	200
	cj	ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις			
Matt 26:18	MCT	*verse*	pr	philological	208
[cj13606]	cj	*corrupt*		PR-content	
			c	*n/a*	
Matt 27:16	MCT	**εἶχον** δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον	pr	PR-content	163
[cj12377]	cj	**εἶχεν** δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον	c	contagion	
Matt 27:62	MCT	**ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν**	pr	*unclear*	
[cj12388]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Matt 27:65	MCT	**ὡς οἴδατε**	pr	PR-content	
[cj13607]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Matt 28:1	MCT	**Ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων**	pr	PR-content	
[cj10058]			c	*n/a*	
	cj	*corrupt*			
Mark 1:1–3	MCT	*verses*	pr	philological	159, 188–
[cj10727]	cj	*omit*		PR-style	189,
				PR-content	191–193
				AR-style	
				extr. (OT)	
			c	improvement	
				improvement	
Mark 1:5	MCT	πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία **χώρα**	pr	philological	186, 197,
[cj12468]	cj	πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία	c	explanation	200

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Mark 1:39	MCT	**καὶ ἦλθεν … Γαλιλαίαν**	pr	philological	172–173,
[cj13610]	cj	*corrupt*		PR-content	176–177
			c	*n/a*	
Mark 4:22	MCT	*verse*	pr	PR-content	
[cj10421]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Mark 4:30	MCT	πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ	pr	PR-content	
[cj10422]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Mark	MCT	*verses*	pr	PR-content	
4:31–32	cj	*corrupt*		PR-content	
[cj12470]				PR-content	
			c	*n/a*	
Mark 10:10	MCT	**εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν**	pr	PR-content	172–174,
[cj13603]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	177
Mark	MCT	**καὶ ὅταν … πρωΐ**	pr	PR-content	207–208
11:19–20	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
[cj13609]					
Mark 13:7	MCT	ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσητε	pr	philological	177–179
[cj12472]	B	ὅταν δὲ **ἀκούητε**[3]	c	similarity	
	cj	ὅταν δὲ **ἀκούητε**			
Mark 14:3	MCT	συντρίψασα τήν	pr	philological	186
[cj15013]	cj	συντρίψασα **τε** τήν	c	haplography	
Mark 14:53	MCT	συνέρχονται πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς	pr	PR-content	
[cj15017]	B	συνέρχονται **αὐτῷ** πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς	c	similarity	
	cj	συνέρχονται **αὐτῶν** πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς			

3 The B reading was held in Holwerda's day to be ὅταν δὲ ἀκούετε; Holwerda made his conjecture on this reading. It subsequently appeared that his conjecture was identical to the B reading.

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Mark 14:72	MCT	καὶ **ἐπιβαλὼν** ἔκλαιεν	pr	PR-content	
[cj10216]	cj	καὶ **ἐκβαλὼν** ἔκλαιεν	c	language error	
Mark 15:36	MCT	**λέγων· ἄφετε**	pr	PR-content	162–163
[cj10454]	cj	**καὶ ἔλεγον· ἄφες**	c	harmonisation	
Luke 2:42	MCT	ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν … τῆς ἑορτῆς	pr	PR-content	
[cj10456]	cj	ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν … τῆς ἑορτῆς **πρῶτον αὐτὸς συνανέβη αὐτοῖς**	c	lipography	
Luke 3:19	MCT	ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ **Ἡρῴδης**	pr	stemmatic	188, 197
[cj12462]	B	ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ **Ἡρῴδης**[4]		PR-style (2)	
	cj	ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν	c	explanation (2)	
Luke 3:23	MCT	ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα	pr c	PR-content lipography	
[cj10458]	cj	ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος **ἀναδείκνυσθαι** ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα			
Luke 4:1	MCT	**ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ**	pr	PR-content	174–177
[cj12473]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Luke 5:19	MCT	μὴ εὑρόντες **ποίας** εἰσενέγκωσιν	pr	philological	187
[cj10460]	cj	μὴ εὑρόντες **ποίᾳ** εἰσενέγκωσιν	c	similarity	
Luke 7:8	MCT	ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι **ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος**	pr c	PR-content *unclear*	167–169
[cj10463]	cj	ἐγώ, ἄνθρωπος, εἰμι **ἐπ' ἐξουσίας**			
Luke 7:17	MCT	ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ … **καὶ** πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ	pr c	philological similarity	185
[cj10465]	cj	ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ … **κἂν** πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ			

4 The B reading was held in Holwerda's day to have the transposition ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ **Ἡρῴδης πονηρῶν** (see n. 245 in ch. 4). This is why for Holwerda there was also a stemmatic problem.

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Luke 7:32	MCT	*verse*	pr	PR-content	
[cj12474]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Luke 9:10	MCT	ὑπεχώρησεν κατ᾽ ἰδίαν **εἰς πόλιν**	pr	PR-content	172–174,
[cj10467]	cj	*corrupt*[5]	c	*n/a*	177
Luke 9:12	MCT	ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα	pr	philological	186–187
[cj12475]	B	**ἤδη** ἡμέρα	c	haplography	
	cj	**ἤδη δ᾽** ἡ ἡμέρα			
Luke 9:13	MCT	εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς **ἀγοράσωμεν**	pr	philological	181, 183
[b12237]	cj	εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς **ἀγοράσομεν**	c	similarity	
Luke 9:25	MCT	ἀπολέσας **ἢ ζημιωθείς**	pr	PR-content	159, 197,
[cj10468]			c	conflation	200–201
	cj	ἀπολέσας			
Luke 10:42	MCT	**ἑνὸς** δέ ἐστιν χρεία	pr	stemmatic	189–190,
[cj12476]	B	**ὀλίγων** δε ἐστιν χρεία **ἢ ἑνός**		PR-style (B)	197
	cj	**ὀλίγων** δε ἐστιν χρεία	c	improvement (MCT) conflation (B)	
Luke 11:22	MCT	ἐπὰν **δὲ** ἰσχυρότερος … νικήσῃ αὐτόν	pr	philological	187
[cj12477]	cj	ἐπὰν **δ᾽ ὁ** ἰσχυρότερος … νικήσῃ αὐτόν	c	similarity	
Luke 12:1	MCT	τῆς ζύμης, **ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις**, τῶν Φαρισαίων	pr	philological PR-style	159, 186, 188, 197
[cj11415]	cj	τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων	c	PR-content explanation	

5 Holwerda suggests something has been left out between εἰς and πόλιν.

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Luke 13:28	MCT	ὅταν ὄψησθε Ἀβραάμ	pr	philological	181–183
[cj10706]	cj	**ὅτε ὄψεσθε** Ἀβραάμ		philological	
			c	similarity repair	
Luke 14:5	MCT	**υἱὸς** ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται	pr	PR-content	
[cj10707]	cj	**ὅϊς** ἢ βοῦς εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται	c	similarity	
Luke 18:7	MCT	**καὶ μακροθυμεῖ** ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς	pr	PR-content	167
[cj10487]	cj	**κἂν μακροθυμῇ** ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς	c	*unclear*	
Luke 19:4	MCT	ὅτι **ἐκείνης** ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι	pr	philological	187
[cj12488]	cj	ὅτι **ἐκείνῃ** ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι	c	similarity	
Luke 22:51	MCT	**ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου**	pr	PR-content	
[cj15777]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Luke 23:19	MCT	**βληθεὶς** ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ	pr	philological	174–177
[cj10501]	cj	**ληφθεὶς** ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ	c	similarity	
Luke 24:17	MCT	**καὶ ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί**	pr	PR-content	
[cj10503]	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
John 1:18	MCT	ὁ ὢν **εἰς τὸν κόλπον** τοῦ πατρός	pr	philological	172–174,
[cj10760]	cj	ὁ ὢν **ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ** τοῦ πατρός	c	language error	176–177
John 2:23	MCT	ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ	pr	PR-style	
[cj10762]	B	ἐν **τῷ πάσχα** τῇ ἑορτῇ	c	explanation	188, 197,
	cj	ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ			197–198n275
John 2:25	MCT	**καὶ ὅτι** οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν	pr	PR-content	167
[cj10763]	cj	**καθότι** οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν	c	similarity	

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
John 3:22–26 [cj13602]	MCT	*verses*	pr	philological	208
	cj	*corrupt*		PR-content	
				PR-content	
				PR-content	
				PR-content	
			c	*n/a*	
John 5:11 [cj10755]	MCT	ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη	pr	philological	187
	B	**ὅς** δὲ ἀπεκρίθη	c	similarity	
	cj	**ὡς** δὲ ἀπεκρίθη			
John 6:51 [cj15392]	MCT	ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σάρξ μού ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς	pr c	PR-content lipography	158n62
	cj	ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σάρξ μού ἐστιν **ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω** ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς			
John 6:65 [cj11939]	MCT	οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐλθεῖν πρός **με**	pr	philological	184
	cj	οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐλθεῖν πρὸς **ἐμέ**	c	similarity	
John 8:25 [cj10626]	MCT	τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν	pr	PR-content	154–158
	cj	τὴν ἀρχὴν **οὐκ ἔχω** ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν	c	lipography	
John 8:39 [cj10795]	MCT	εἰ τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐστέ, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐποιεῖτε	pr c	philological similarity	187–188
	Lo19	εἰ τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ **ἐστέ,**[6] τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐποιεῖτε ἄν[7]			
	cj	εἰ τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ **ἦστε,** τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐποιεῖτε ἄν			

6 Lo19 has the spelling ἐσται.

7 Holwerda thought, on the basis of Ti², that this was also the B reading, but B eventually turned out to lack ἄν (that is, to equal the MCT).

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
John 9:6 [cj11952]	MCT	ἐπέχρισεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς	pr c	philological similarity	187
	B	ἐπέθηκεν **αὐτοῦ** τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς			
	cj	ἐπέθηκεν **αὐτῷ** τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς			
John 10:14 [cj11959]	MCT	**γινώσκουσίν με** τὰ ἐμά	pr c	philological similarity	183–185
	cj	**γινώσκουσ' ἐμέ** τὰ ἐμά			
John 10:15 [cj11960]	MCT	γινώσκει **με** ὁ πατήρ	pr c	philological similarity	183–185
	cj	γινώσκει **ἐμὲ** ὁ πατήρ			
John 12:7 [cj12397]	MCT	**ἄφες ... αὐτό**	pr c	PR-content *n/a*	
	cj	*corrupt*			
John 15:16 [cj10817]	MCT	οὐχ ὑμεῖς **με** ἐξελέξασθε	pr c	philological similarity	183–185
	cj	οὐχ ὑμεῖς **ἐμέ** ἐξελέξασθε			
John 17:5 [cj11982]	MCT	νῦν δόξασόν **με** σύ	pr c	philological similarity	183–185
	cj	νῦν δόξασόν **ἐμὲ** σύ			
John 18:21 [cj10826]	MCT	τί **με** ἐρωτᾷς;	pr c	philological similarity	183–185
	cj	τί **ἐμὲ** (*or* ἐμ') ἐρωτᾷς;			
John 19:17 [cj11991]	MCT	βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ τὸν σταυρόν	pr c	philological similarity	187
	B	βαστάζων **αὐτῷ** τὸν σταυρόν			
	cj	βαστάζων **αὐτοῦ** τὸν σταυρόν			
John 19:20 [cj10829]	MCT	ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος **τῆς πόλεως**	pr c	philological explanation	186, 198
	cj	ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος			
John 19:29/8 [cj10831]	MCT	σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους **μεστόν**	pr	PR-style PR-content PR-content	159, 188, 198
	cj	σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους	c	explanation	

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
John 19:29/20 [cj13604]	MCT	σπόγγον οὖν μεστὸν τοῦ ὄξους **ὑσσώπῳ** περιθέντες	pr c	PR-content *n/a*	
	cj	*corrupt*			
John 21:24–25 [cj12008]	MCT	*verses*	pr	PR-style	22, 189
	cj	*omit*	c	improvement	
Acts 1:12 [cj10229]	MCT	ὅ ἐστιν ἐγγὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου **ἔχον** ὁδόν	pr c	philological language error	185–186
	cj	ὅ ἐστιν ἐγγὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου **ἀπέχον** ὁδόν			
Acts 5:26 [cj10853]	MCT	οὐ μετὰ βίας	pr	PR-content	
	cj	οὐ **μέντοι** μετὰ βίας	c	haplography	
Acts 10:30 [cj10251]	MCT	ἀπὸ τετάρτης **ἡμέρας μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἤμην τὴν ἐνάτην** προσευχόμενος	pr c	PR-content explanation	193n256, 198
	cj	ἀπὸ τετάρτης **ταύτης ἡμέρας ἤμην** προσευχόμενος		repair	
Acts 10:36 [cj10252]	MCT	*verse*	pr	PR-content	
	cj	*corrupt*	c	*n/a*	
Acts 10:39 [cj15014]	MCT	ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ [ἐν] Ἰερουσαλήμ	pr c	philological similarity	185
	B	ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων **καὶ** Ἰερουσαλήμ			
	cj	ἔν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων **κἀν** Ἰερουσαλήμ			
Acts 13:5 [cj12243]	MCT	γενόμενοι **ἐν Σαλαμῖνι**	pr	philological	174–177
	cj	γενόμενοι **εἰς Σαλαμῖνα**	c	language error	

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Acts 13:17 [cj10260]	MCT	ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραήλ	pr	PR-style explanation	188, 199
	B	ὁ θεὸς τοῦ **λαοῦ τοῦ** Ἰσραήλ	c		
	cj	ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ			
Acts 13:24 [cj12484]	MCT	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ **Ἰσραήλ**	pr	PR-style explanation	188, 199
	cj	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ	c		
Acts 18:5 [cj10878]	MCT	**συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ**	pr	PR-content AR-style similarity repair	162
	cj	**συνεῖχε τὰ τοῦ λόγου**	c		
Acts 19:22 [cj12235]	MCT	**αὐτὸς ἐπέσχεν χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν**	pr	philological	172–174, 177
	cj	*corrupt*	c	n/a	
Acts 21:13 [cj12236]	MCT	**ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἑτοίμως ἔχω**	pr	philological	
			c	n/a	
	cj	*corrupt*			
Acts 21:26 [cj10893]	MCT	ἕως οὗ **προσηνέχθη** … ἡ προσφορά	pr	philological	181
	cj	ἕως οὗ **προσενεχθῇ** … ἡ προσφορά	c	similarity	
Acts 22:5 [cj12430]	MCT	ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ	pr	philological	187
	B	ὡς **καὶ** ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐμαρτύρει	c	similarity	
	cj	ὡς **κἂν** ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐμαρτύρει			
Acts 27:27 [cj10920]	MCT	ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν	pr	PR-content	165–166
			c	similarity	
	B	ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται **προσάχειν** τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν			
	cj	ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται **προανέχειν** τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν			
Rom 5:6/2–14 [cj12238]	MCT	**ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι**	pr	PR-content	
	cj	*corrupt*	c	n/a	

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Rom 5:6/22 [cj12240]	MCT	Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι … ὑπὲρ **ἀσεβῶν** ἀπέθανεν	pr c	PR-style explanation	188, 193n256, 199
	cj	Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι … ὑπὲρ **ἡμῶν** ἀπέθανεν			
Rom 9:25 [cj12479]	MCT	ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει	pr	philological similarity	185
	B	ὡς **καὶ** τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει	c		
	cj	ὡς **κἂν** τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει			
Rom 12:3 [cj12485]	MCT	παντὶ τῷ **ὄντι** ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ **ὑπερφρονεῖν**	pr	PR-content	170–171
	cj	παντὶ τῷ **ὑπερέχοντι** ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ **φρονεῖν**		PR-content	
			c	transposition repair	
1 Cor 3:4 [cj10933]	MCT	οὐκ **ἄνθρωποί** ἐστέ	pr	PR-content	142, 160
	cj	οὐκ **ἀνθρώπου** ἐστέ	c	similarity	
1 Cor 11:24 [cj12482]	MCT	τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν	pr	PR-content	
	cj	τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν **διδόμενον**	c	lipography	
1 Cor 12:2 [cj12396]	MCT	*verse*	pr	PR-content	208–209
	cj	*corrupt*	c	n/a	
1 Cor 15:1 [cj10976]	MCT	Γνωρίζω **δὲ** ὑμῖν	pr	PR-content	
	cj	Γνωρίζω **δὴ** ὑμῖν	c	similarity	
1 Cor 15:33 [cj12478]	MCT	*verse*	pr	PR-content	159, 199
	cj	*omit*	c	contextualisation	
1 Cor 15:36 [cj15016]	MCT	ἄφρων, **σὺ** ὃ σπείρεις	pr	philological similarity	186
	cj	ἄφρων, **οὐχ** ὃ σπείρεις	c		

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
1 Cor 16:2	MCT	τιθέτω θησαυρίζων **ὅ τι ἐάν**	pr	PR-content	169–170
[cj10993]	cj	**τι τιθέτω**[8] θησαυρίζων **ὅταν**	c	haplography repair	
1 Cor 16:22	MCT	**ἤτω** ἀνάθεμα	pr	philological	187–188
[cj12268]	cj	**ἔστω** ἀνάθεμα	c	similarity	
2 Cor 3:3	MCT	ἐν πλαξὶν **καρδίαις** σαρκίναις	pr	PR-content	201–206
[cj10142]	cj	ἐν πλαξὶν σαρκίναις	c	explanation	
2 Cor 12:1	MCT	οὐ συμφέρον μέν	pr	PR-content	
[cj12486]	cj	οὐ συμφέρον μέν, **ἀναγκαῖον δέ**	c	lipography	
Gal 1:1	MCT	οὐκ **ἀπ**᾽ ἀνθρώπων … καὶ θεοῦ πατρός	pr	philological	188n232
[cj10097]	cj	οὐχ **ὑπ**᾽ ἀνθρώπων … καὶ **ὑπὸ** θεοῦ πατρός	c	philological similarity repair	
Eph 1:1	MCT	τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ] καὶ	pr	philological	
[cj12398]	cj	**πιστοῖς** ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ *corrupt*	c	n/a	
Eph 5:4	MCT	*verse*	pr	*unclear*	
[cj12399]	cj	*corrupt*	c	n/a	
Phil 2:5	MCT	τοῦτο **φρονεῖτε** ἐν ὑμῖν	pr	PR-content	
[cj11227]	cj	τοῦτο **φρονοῖτο** ἐν ὑμῖν	c	similarity	

8 Holwerda also suggests an alternative form, namely τι θέτω instead of τι τιθέτω.

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
Phil 3:17–19 [cj13331]	MCT cj	*verses* *corrupt*	pr c	unclear n/a	
Col 1:6 [cj12263]	MCT cj	καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καθὼς καὶ **εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον· καὶ** ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ	pr c	PR-style haplography	189
Col 2:14 [cj13605]	MCT cj	**τὸ καθ' … ἡμῖν** *corrupt*	pr c	PR-content n/a	
Col 2:15 [cj12265]	MCT B cj	τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν τὰς ἐξουσίας καί ἐδειγμάτισεν τὰς ἐξουσίας, **οὓς** (*or* ἃς) καὶ ἐδειγμάτισεν	pr c	philological lipography	187
Col 2:16–19 [cj13333]	MCT cj	*verses* *corrupt*	pr c	*unclear* n/a	
1 Thess 3:3 [cj12266]	MCT cj	τὸ **μηδένα σαίνεσθαι** τὸ **μηδὲν ἀναίνεσθαι**	pr c	PR-content similarity	167
1 Tim 2:15 [cj11067]	MCT cj	σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ **τῆς τεκνογονίας** σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ **τὴν τεκνογονίαν**	pr c	PR-content contagion	161–162
1 Tim 5:13 [cj10750]	MCT cj	ἀργαὶ **μανθάνουσιν** περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας ἀργαὶ **λανθάνουσιν** περιερχόμεναι τὰς οἰκίας	pr c	PR-content similarity	163–165

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
2 Tim 2:25 [cj14873]	MCT	παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους, μήποτε δώῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας [26] καὶ ἀνανήψωσιν	pr c	PR-content similarity	
	C	παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδιαθεμένους, μήποτε **δώῃ** αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας [26] καὶ ἀνανήψουσιν[9]			
	cj	παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους. μήποτε **δώσει** αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας [26] καὶ ἀνανήψουσιν[10]			
Jas 1:9 [cj15015]	MCT	Καυχάσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινός	pr c	philological similarity	187
	B	Καυχάσθω **δὲ** ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινός			
	cj	Καυχάσθω **δ' ὁ** ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινός			
Jas 3:5–6 [cj15846]	MCT	*verses*	pr c	*unclear* *n/a*	
	cj	*corrupt*			
Jas 3:12 [cj12483]	MCT	**οὔτε ἁλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ**	pr c	philological PR-content improvement	186, 200
	cj	*omit*			
Jas 5:12 [b11122]	MCT	**ἤτω** δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὒ οὔ	pr c	philological similarity	187–188
	cj	**ἔστω** δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὒ οὔ			
1 Pet 3:21 [cj12463]	MCT	**ὃ** καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σῴζει βάπτισμα	pr c	philological PR-content similarity	
	cj	**οὗ** καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σῴζει βάπτισμα			

9 C diverges from the MCT in having ἀντιδιαθεμένους for ἀντιδιατιθεμένους (vs. 25) and in having ἀνανήψουσιν for ἀνανήψωσιν (vs. 26); see CNTTS. The latter difference is important for Holwerda.

10 Holwerda's conjecture on the C reading involves a specific punctuation, namely a full stop after ἀντιδιατιθεμένους. Holwerda ignores the C reading ἀντιδιαθεμένους, simply printing ἀντιδιατιθεμένους.

(cont.)

Reference		Conjecture		Classification	Page
2 Pet 3:10/46 [cj12267]	MCT	καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ **ἔργα** οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται	pr c	PR-content improvement	159, 200, 218
	cj	καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται			
2 Pet 3:10/48–50 [cj11713]	B	καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα **εὑρεθήσεται**	pr	stemmatic	209–218, 221–222
	C	καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ **ἀφανισθήσονται**		PR-content (B)	
	cj/ MCT	καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα[11] **οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται**	c	lipography (B) explanation (C)	
1 John 5:14–15 [cj12233]	MCT	ὅτι ἐάν τι αἰτώμεθα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν. [15] καὶ ἐὰν **οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀκούει** ἡμῶν	pr c	philological PR-content transposition	179–180
	cj	ὅτι **οἴδαμεν ὅτι** ἐάν τι αἰτώμεθα κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν. [15] καὶ ἐὰν **ἀκούῃ** ἡμῶν		repair	

11 Holwerda in fact conjectures the omission of ἔργα (see main text above), but this conjecture is independent from his proposal to insert οὐχ.

APPENDIX 2

Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus: An Underestimated Uncial

In my research into the state of NT textual criticism in the pre-Westcott-and-Hort era, I was struck by the high regard in which Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C04) was held. Griesbach said this manuscript was "rightfully and deservedly leading the whole Alexandrian flock."[1] Tischendorf quoted Griesbach with approval in the introduction of his 1843 edition of Ephraemi Rescriptus, though he wonders whether Codex Vaticanus may not even be better.[2] The same position is taken by Tregelles and Holwerda. Tregelles calls C "one of the most valuable codices which we possess, ranking probably, on the whole, next to Codex Vaticanus."[3] In 1855, on the basis of a close investigation of more than two hundred passages, Holwerda defends the superiority of B and C;[4] in 1860, he adds the qualification that C is outranked by B.[5]

From a modern perspective, this high regard for Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus is surprising. In the classification of the Alands, Ephraemi is a category II manuscript:

> Manuscripts of a special quality, but distinguished from manuscripts of category I by the presence of alien influences (particularly of the Byzantine text), and yet of importance for establishing the original text …[6]

Bruce Metzger assigns even less importance to C:

> Though the document dates from the fifth century, its text is of less importance than one might have assumed from its age. It seems to be compounded from all the major text-types, agreeing frequently with the later Koine or Byzantine type, which most scholars regard as the least valuable type of New Testament text.[7]

1 "totius alexandrini gregis dux jure meritoque suo" (Griesbach, *Symbolae criticae 1* [1785], p. xxvii).
2 Tischendorf, *Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus NT* (1843), p. 21.
3 Tregelles, "Introduction" (1856), p. 169.
4 Holwerda, *Bijdragen* (1855), pp. 9–21, 24–45.
5 Holwerda, "Tischendorf" (1860), p. 559.
6 Aland and Aland, *Text* (^{2}1989), p. 160.
7 Metzger, *Text* (^{3}1992), p. 49.

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This appreciation of C as a manuscript of secondary critical importance is common in the first half of the twentieth century as well[8] and ultimately goes back to Hort's characterisation:

> In C the Syrian [= Byzantine] and all three forms of Pre-Syrian text are combined in varying proportions; …[9]

It has been Ephraemi's fate that Tischendorf found Codex Sinaiticus, about as old as Codex Vaticanus, and with a NT text very similar to that of Vaticanus. As J. Neville Birdsall comments:

> It was the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus in the same period that enabled scholars to perceive the distinctive form of text that these two majuscules presented distinctively and outstandingly, primarily by reason of their greater age, even amongst the other manuscripts that for Bengel and Griesbach had formed the 'Alexandrian' family.[10]

In Westcott and Hort's influential theory Ephraemi was replaced by Sinaiticus as the second-best manuscript: "At a long interval after B, but hardly a less interval before all other manuscripts, stands ℵ."[11] Ephraemi then becomes, in the words of Robert W. Lyon, "the neglected member of the family of great uncials."[12] It seemed as if C was only relevant for the text of the Apocalypse, where B is not extant, while Josef Schmid demonstrated that A and C are better there than ℵ and the third-century 𝔓[47].[13]

However, in a 1990 (unfortunately) unpublished dissertation Mark R. Dunn concludes, on the basis of a profile analysis involving 551 variation units where C is extant, that C is fully Alexandrian in the Gospel of John. It agrees with NA[26] in 80.2 % of all variation units, while only two manuscripts (B: 82.8 %; 𝔓[75]: 82.2 %) score better; ℵ agrees with NA[26] in only 59.4 % of the places.[14]

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8 See Dunn, *Examination* (1990), pp. 17–18.

9 Westcott and Hort, *NT: Introduction* ([1a]1882), p. 152. The characterisation continues as follows: "… distinctively Syrian readings and such distinctively Western readings as were not much adopted into eclectic texts being however comparatively infrequent."

10 Birdsal, "Vaticanus" (2003), p. 35.

11 Westcott and Hort, *NT: Introduction* ([1a]1882), p. 171.

12 Lyon, "Re-Examination" (1959), p. 260.

13 Schmid, *Studien II* (1955).

14 See Dunn, *Examination* (1990), pp. 248, 279, 305–311.

Similar analysis of the Synoptic Gospels confirms the general opinion of C as a mixed text.[15] Still, the percentages of agreement with NA[26] are higher for C (Matt: 62%; Mark: 68.3%; Luke: 65.7%) than for A (49.6%, 50.4%, 60.4% resp.) and D05 (46.6%, 34%, 27.5% resp.).[16] Therefore these figures in any case confirm Holwerda's and Tregelles' estimation of C as being second best among the four oldest manuscripts of their day (B scoring 82.8%, 85.2%, 89.4% resp.). Westcott and Hort, in their turn, are vindicated by Dunn's Synoptic Gospels figures as concerns the position of ℵ under B but above the other oldest manuscripts (ℵ scoring 72.8%, 74.6%, 78.6% agreement with NA[26] resp.).

For Acts and the Catholic Epistles we have very reliable data, namely the *ECM* analysis with exact percentages of agreement with the 'Ausgangstext' per manuscript. In Acts the common opinion of C as less reliable than B and ℵ is vindicated: B scores 96.7%, ℵ scores 94.8% and C 93.5% agreement with the initial text.[17] Yet interestingly, and against Westcott and Hort's B-ℵ-*alii* order, A (95.2%) scores better than ℵ.[18]

In the Catholic Epistles the best manuscript is again, by far, Codex Vaticanus, with 96.86% agreement; second best is 1739 with 93.8%; number three is the manuscript of our interest, C, with 92.9%. Then follow 16 manuscripts with a percentage ranging between 92.55% and 92.06% (A: 92,08%), but ℵ is not among them. It scores merely 90.79%.[19]

For the Pauline Epistles the data from *Text und Textwert* are all there is, at the moment, for evaluating Ephraemi and Sinaiticus. In the Pauline Epistles there are, in sum, 251 test passages, with 'Anteil am alten Text' tables per letter; there is one table for 1 and 2 Thessalonians together, as well as one for the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon together. For the best manuscripts, I have calculated a weighted average percentage of agreement with NA[26].[20] It turned out that, according to the data in *Text und Text-*

15 Dunn could specify the mix as Alexandrian-Byzantine, C showing no traces of Western influence.

16 Dunn did not adopt variation units where one of his 29 test manuscripts had a singular reading, except for the singular readings of D05 (Dunn, *Examination* [1990], pp. 27–28). This worked out badly for the agreement percentage that D05 has with NA[26].

17 The *ECM* percentages of agreement with the initial text are much higher than the percentages of agreement with NA[26] presented by Dunn. This is due to the fact that Dunn worked with a selection of variation units that should differentiate between manuscripts, whereas the *ECM* figures are based on the integral text. Since in most places most manuscripts support the supposedly original reading, for all manuscripts the percentage of agreement with the Modern Critical Text is much higher in the *ECM* figures than in Dunn's figures.

18 Minuscule 81 (95.6%) and 𝔓[74] (95.8%) are even better. See Strutwolf et al., *ECM 3.1.1* (2017), p. 30*.

19 See Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* (²2013), p. 33*.

20 For each of these manuscripts, I have multiplied all ten agreement percentages with the

wert, the four great uncials are also the four best manuscripts in the Pauline Epistles, all within a margin of 5%: first ℵ (67.03%), second B (66.96%), third C (65.38% in 156 test passages), fourth A (62.18%).[21] Once more, these figures go against the best manuscripts ideas of the Cambridge critics.

In conclusion, the high estimation of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus in the mid-nineteenth century should not surprise us. This manuscript has been proven to be among the top manuscripts in the Gospel of John and Revelation, while being the best uncial in the group of manuscripts that follow B in the Catholic Epistles. About its status in the Pauline Epistles only tentative assertions can be done, since the sample of *Text und Textwert* is relatively small. What this sample tells us about C, then, is that it is, just like in the Gospel of John and Revelation, one of the top manuscripts. The situation is different in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. In the Synoptic Gospels C scores significantly lower than both B and ℵ, though still better than A; in Acts C is also outranked by A.

The general opinion in the twentieth century about C as an unreliable manuscript goes back at Westcott and Hort's evaluation of C as having a thoroughly mixed text with a substantial Byzantine element. This judgment appears to be an unwarranted extrapolation of what is true in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts; it is untrue in the Gospel of John, the Epistles and Revelation. Westcott and Hort's B-ℵ-*alii* order suffers from the same methodological flaw as the eighteenth-century tripartite manuscript classification: what is true in the Gospels, does not have to be true in other parts of the New Testament.

Still, this is a tentative conclusion, pending the agreement percentages in the other *ECM* parts and, hopefully, also the integration of manuscript and edition collations that will make possible to trace the fate of individual manuscripts through the history of NT textual criticism. Indeed, scholarship would benefit greatly from such a research project, in which editions are collated and then integrated into existing manuscript data sets.

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number of test passages that were extant in that manuscript in the letter or group of letters concerned. Subsequently, I have divided the sum of these multiplied percentages by the sum of all test passages available in the manuscript concerned.

21 See Aland, Benduhn-Mertz and Mink, *Text und Textwert Paulus 1* (1991), p. 172; *Text und Textwert Paulus 2* (1991), pp. 3,490; *Text und Textwert Paulus 3* (1991), pp. 3,253,467; *Text und Textwert Paulus 4* (1991), pp. 3,201,365,626.

Bibliography

This bibliography consists of five parts:

1. Holwerda's publications
2. Holwerda's correspondence
3. NT editions and Bible translations
4. Editions and translations of other ancient works
5. Other soures

The b-numbers at the end of most references are the catalogue numbers in the Amsterdam Database bibliography.[1] Here additional information about the source is sometimes provided.

The use of capitals in titles is not adjusted to modern standards. Ellipses replace names of authors, editions numbers, and, in long titles, also other parts.

Abbreviations follow Patrick H. Alexander et al., (eds.), *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, ^{2}2014). [b5413]

Abbreviations not in the *SBL Handbook of Style*:

AALB	*Annales Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*
AH	*Algemeen Handelsblad*
AKL	*Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode*
ASD	Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami. Recognita at adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata
BijbRef	*Bijblad bij de Referent voor de theologische Wetenschap*
BGW	*Boekzaal der geleerde wereld, en Tijdschrift voor de Protestantsche Kerken in het Koningrijk der Nederlanden*
BSGRT	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BSPEG	Bibliotheca sacra patrum ecclesiae graecorum
CRJ	*Classical Receptions Journal*
DNK	*Documentatieblad voor de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis na 1800*
Exp	*The Expositor*
GGB	*Godgeleerde bijdragen*
HHR	*Hollandse Historische Reeks*

1 The Bibliography of the *Amsterdam Database* will become available on http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/nt-conjectures shortly.

HTS *Hervormde Teologiese Studies*
JGNP1800 *Jaarboek voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme na 1800*
JKNIW *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en Schoone Kunsten*
JMNL *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*
JPhil *The Journal of Philology*
JWT *Jaarboeken voor wetenschappelijke theologie*
KEH Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
LB *De Levensbode. Tijdschrift op onbepaalde tijden*
LC *Leydsche Courant*
LCD *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*
LLL Longman Linguistics Library
MBS *Maandschrift voor den beschaafden stand ter bevordering van bijbelkennis en christelijk leven*
Mnem *Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Philologica Batava*
Mnem ns *Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Philologica Batava. Nova Series*
MtS *Münchener theologische Studien*
NBBBU *Nieuwe bijdragen tot bevordering van bijbelsche uitlegkunde*
NJWT *Nieuwe Jaarboeken voor wetenschappelijke theologie*
NS *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*
NwBijdr *Nieuwe bijdragen op het gebied van godgeleerdheid en wijsbegeerte*
OGV *Oud-Gorcum Varia*
PM *Protestantische Monatshefte*
RC *Rotterdamsche Courant*
RecALM *De recensent, algemeen letterlievend maandschrift*
RGP Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën
RThPh ns *Revue de théologie et de philosophie et compte-rendu des principales publications scientifiques*
SCL Sather Classical Lectures
STT *Studiën. Theologisch tijdschrift*
ThSt *Theologische Studiën*
ThT *Theologisch Tijdschrift*
TTT *Teyler's Theologisch Tijdschrift*
VMKAWLet *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde*
VRNGG ns Verhandelingen, raakende den natuurlyken en geopenbaarden godsdienst, nieuwe serie
WL *Waarheid in Liefde*

1 Holwerda's Publications

The bibliography of Holwerda below is complete, to my knowledge. Only two publications are not referred to in the dissertation, namely *Oordeel des Heeren* (1860), an induction sermon, and "Boonzajer" (1863), a memorial speech.

"Responsio" (1828)
: "Responsio ad quaestionem …: 'Quaenam fuit veterum Scepticorum sententia de veri iudicio? Quibus argumentis eam tueri conati sunt adversus Dogmaticos, inprimis Socraticos, et Stoicos? Quomodo denique Sceptica philosophandi ratio, observata hominis indole, natura, atque ingenii progressione, explicanda et coercenda videtur?' …," *AALB* (1828). [b3354]

Dissertatio (1830)
: *Dissertatio theologica inauguralis de colloquio Jesu cum Nicodemo* (The Hague: Giunta d'Albani, 1830). [b3355]

Specimen (1847)
: *Emendationum Flavianarum specimen. Scripsit et de novae operum Josephi editionis consilio disseruit …* (Gorinchem: Noorduyn, 1847). [b3479]

Betrekking (1853)
: *De betrekking van het verstand tot het uitleggen van den Bijbel, inzonderheid van de schriften des Nieuwen Testaments* (Gorinchem: Noorduyn, 1853). [b1040]

Aanteekeningen (1853)
: *Uitlegkundige aanteekeningen op eenige plaatsen uit het Nieuwe Testament* (Gorinchem: Noorduyn, 1853). [b1039]

"Observationes criticae" (1853)
: "Observationes criticae in Flavii Iosephi Antiquitatum Iudaicarum librum XVIII," *Mnem* 2 (1853): pp. 111–141. [b5566]

"Opmerkingen" (1854)
: "Nog eenige opmerkingen betreffende Matth. III:15. Matth. XXVII:28 en Marc. XV: 36. Luc. XIII:28. Luc. XXIII:19. Joann. XIX:29," *JWT* 12 (1854): pp. 23–43. [b1042]

"Antikritiek" (1855)
: "Antikritiek. Bedenkingen van den Schrijver van het werkje: Bijdragen … tegen de recensie daarvan voorkomende in het Tijdschrift: Godgeleerde Bijdragen. Jaargang 1855. St. IX bl. 671–685," *BGW* 2 (1855): pp. 524–536. [b2388]

review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855)
: review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* (1855), in *AKL* 67 (1855), pp. 352a–353a. [b2383]

Bijdragen (1855)
: *Bijdragen tot de uitlegging van het Nieuwe Testament* (Leiden: Hazenberg, 1855). [b1041]

"Ignatius ad Philad. c. 8" (1856)

"Iets over de plaats van Ignatius in Ep. ad Philad. c. 8," *JWT* 13 (1856): pp. 131–135. [b5572]

"Open brief" (1856)

"Open brief aan den schrijver van het werkje: Opmerkingen …" (review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855]), in *BijbRef* 1 (1856), pp. 65–86. [b2386]

"Woord" (1856)

"Een woord aan den schrijver van het werkje: Opmerkingen …" (review of Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen* [1855]), in *BijbRef* 1 (1856), pp. 2–18. [b3953]

"Rom IX:5" (1858)

"Proeve eener verklaring van Rom. IX:5, ὧν οἱ Πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν," *NJWT* 1 (1858): pp. 55–100. [b2086]

"Nog een woord over Rom. IX:5" (1859)

"Nog een woord over Rom. IX:5," *NJWT* 2 (1859): pp. 557–632. [b3357]

Oordeel des Heeren (1860)

De gedachte aan het oordeel des Heeren, het wapen en de staf van den getrouwen evangeliedienaar. Kerkelijke rede over 1 Cor. IV:4b. Ter bevestiging van een ambtgenoot gehouden te Gorinchem, den 3den junij 1860, door … (Gorinchem: Van der Mast, 1860). [b5655]

"Tischendorf" (1860)

"Tischendorfs Editio 7ma Novi Testamenti," *NJWT* 3 (1860): pp. 548–597. [b1043]

"1 Petr. III:18–IV:6" (1862)

"Verklaring van 1 Petr. III:18–IV:6," *NJWT* 5 (1862): pp. 447–535. [b2876]

"Boonzajer" (1863)

"Levensberigt van Cornelis Gerardus Boonzajer," *JMNL* (1863): pp. 380–399. [b5656]

Xenophontis Hellenica (1866)

Annotatio critica in Xenophontis Hellenica (Amsterdam: Van Helden, 1866). [b3703]

"Canon" (1868)

"Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van den canon des Nieuwen Testaments," *GGB* 42 (1868): pp. 95–176. [b3465]

"Allerlei uit Josephus" (1872)

"Allerlei uit Josephus," *VMKAWLet* 2–2 (1872): pp. 106–139. [b5586]

Herinneringen (1872)

Herinneringen van een Predikant na één en veertigjarigen dienst, tevens afscheidswoord aan de Hervormde Gemeente van Gorinchem (Gorinchem: Schook, 1872). [b3350]

"Philo" (1873)

"Annotatio critica in Philonem Judaeum," *VMKAWLet* 2.3 (1873): pp. 271–288. [b3455]

"Moderne orthodoxie en vergelijkende godenleer" (1873)

"Moderne orthodoxie en vergelijkende godenleer," *LB* 6 (1873): pp. 14–32. [b5582]

"De posteritate Caini" (1884)

"Annotatio critica in Philonis Judaei librum de posteritate Caini," *VMKAWLet* 3.1 (1884): pp. 274–284. [b3456]

2 Holwerda's Correspondence

This correspondence section is divided into three parts: first letters from Holwerda, then letters to Holwerda, and finally some letters which are neither written nor received by Holwerda.

All letters are kept in the Leiden University Library. The codes before the full stop (e.g. BPL 2798) are catalogue codes of this library.

The following persons are involved:

John Bake (1787–1864)
Carel Gabriël Cobet (1813–1889)
Jacobus Geel (1789–1862)
Willem Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen (1831–1919)
Johannes van Vloten (1818–1883)
Gerbrand Vissering (1813–1869)
Jan Hendrik Adolf Michelsen (1838–1918)
Theodorica Catharina Holwerda-Bertling (1810–1900)

From Holwerda

to Bake, 11 August 1840, BPL 885. [b3449]
to Cobet, 22 December 1856, BPL 2798. [b3340]
to Geel, 3 November 1846, BPL 2798. [b3448]
to van de Sande Bakhuyzen (draft), unsent, 15 January 1876, BPL 2798. [b3450]
to van de Sande Bakhuyzen (draft), 1 December 1879, sent in a changed form on 2 December 1879, BPL 2798. [b3451]
to van Vloten, 33 letters from 1853 to 1878, LTK 1914 and BPL 2798. [b4012]
to van Vloten, 15 May 1853, LTK 1914. [b3902]
to van Vloten, 17 November 1853, LTK 1914. [b4010]
to van Vloten, 29 November 1853, LTK 1914. [b4011]
to van Vloten, 22 January 1854, LTK 1914. [b4008]
to Vissering, 11 letters from 1854 to 1861, BPL 2798. [b5567]
to Vissering, 11 December 1854, BPL 2798. [5569]
to Vissering, 25 April 1855, BPL 2798. [b3446]
to Vissering, 26 November 1855, BPL 2798. [b3899]
to Vissering, 22 October 1855, BPL 2798. [b3445]

to Vissering, 4 February 1856, BPL 2798. [b5571]
to Vissering, 8 July 1856, BPL 2798. [b4013]
to Vissering, 27 November 1858, BPL 2798. [b3869]

To Holwerda

from Cobet, 5 letters from 1852 to 1856, BPL 2798. [b5576]
from Cobet, 29 February 1852, BPL 2798. [b3385]
from Cobet, 16 March 1853, BPL 2798. [b3452]
from Cobet, undated [1856], BPL 2798. [b3453]
from Geel, 52 letters from 1847 to 1858, BPL 2798. [b3867]
from Geel, 21 December 1847, BPL 2798. [b3868]
from Geel, 25 September, BPL 2798. [b3870]
from Geel, 7 January 1849, BPL 2798. [b3871]
from Geel, 26 February 1849, BPL 2798. [b5558]
from Geel, 24 February 1850, BPL 2798. [b3872]
from Geel, 26 Augustus 1850, BPL 2798. [b3884]
from Geel, unsent, undated [1851], LTK 1628. [b5560]
from Geel, 15 January 1851, BPL 2798. [b3883]
from Geel, 28 February 1851, BPL 2798. [b3890]
from Geel, 15 May 1851, BPL 2798. [b3891]
from Geel, 17 June 1852, BPL 2798. [b3892]
from Geel, 27 March 1853, BPL 2798. [b3875]
from Geel, 24 October 1853, BPL 2798. [b4015]
from Geel, 11 April 1855, BPL 2798. [b5561]
from Geel, 18 October 1855, BPL 2798. [b5562]
from Geel, 7 December 1855, BPL 2798. [b5563]
from Geel, 17 November 1856, BPL 2798. [b5570]
from Geel, 25 June 1857, BPL 2798. [b5329]
from Michelsen, 14 July 1881, BPL 2798. [b5546]
from van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 28 letters from 1873 to 1881, BPL 2798. [b3358]
from van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 12 December 1879, BPL 2798. [b5547]
from van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 2 March 1880, BPL 2798. [b4026]
from Vissering, 40 letters from 1854 to 1868, BPL 2798. [b5568]
from Vissering, 1 December 1854, BPL 2798. [b4014]
from Vissering, 23 November 1855, BPL 2798. [b3898]

Neither from nor to Holwerda

Cobet to Holwerda-Bertling, 18 September 1855, BPL 2798. [b3454]
Geel to Holwerda-Bertling, 1 February 1857, BPL 2798. [b5565]
Holwerda-Bertling to Geel (draft), undated [1857], BPL 2798. [b5564]

3 New Testament Editions and Bible Translations

Aland et al., *ECM 4.1* ([2]2013)

Barbara Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior. IV. Die Katholischen Briefe. Teil 1, Tekst …* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [2]2013). [b5014]

Aland et al., *ECM 4.2* ([2]2013)

Barbara Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior. IV. Die Katholischen Briefe. Teil 2: Begleitende Materialien …* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [2]2013). [b5015]

Baljon, *NTG* (1898)

Johannes Marinus Simon Baljon, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Praesertim in usum studiosorum recognovit et brevibus annotationibus instruxit …* (Groningen: Wolters, 1898). [b1134]

Beza, *Annotationes* ([1]1556)

Theodorus Beza, *Novum D. N. Iesu Christi testamentum* (Geneva: Robertus Stephanus, [1]1556). [b1091]

Buttmann, *NTG* ([2]1860)

Philipp Buttmann, *Novum Testamentum graece ad fidem potissimum codicis Vaticani B recensuit, varias lectiones codicis B, Textus Recepti, editionum Griesbachii Lachmanni Tischendorfii integras adiecit …* (Leipzig: Teubner, [2]1860). [b1700]

CNTTS (2004)

Bill Warren et al., *The Center for New Testament Textual Studies NT Critical Apparatus* (electronic database; New Orleans, LA: New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004; BibleWorks v.9).

EB[3] (1993)

Elberfelder Bibel (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, [3]1993; BibleWorks, v.9).

Griesbach, *Libri historici* (1774–1775)

Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Libri historici Novi Testamenti Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum, versionum et patrum emendavit et lectionis varietatem adiecit …* (2 vols; Halle: Curtius, 1774–1775). [b2835 and b2386]

Griesbach, *NTG 2* ([1]1775)

Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum emendavit et lectionis varietatem adiecit … Volumen II. Epistolas omnes et Apocalypsin complectens* (Halle: Curtius, [1]1775). [b2116]

Griesbach, *NTG 1* ([2]1796)

Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adiecit … Volumen I. IV Evangelia complectens*. (Halle: Curtius, [2]1796). [b2834]

Griesbach, *NTG 2* ([2]1806)

Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum ver-*

sionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adiecit ... Volumen II. Acta et epistolas apostolorum cum Apocalypsi complectens ... (Halle: Curtius, ²1806). [b1673]

Gwynn, *Remnants I* (1909)

John Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible, in Two Parts. ...* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1909). [b2886]

Hoelzlin, *NT* (²1633)

Jeremias Hoelzlin, *Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum, ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus cum cura expressum* (Leiden: Elzevier, ²1633). [b4979]

Holmes, *GNT SBL* (2010)

Michael W. Holmes, *Greek New Testament. SBL Edition* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010). [5343]

Jérusalem² (1973)

Bible de Jérusalem (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, ²1973; BibleWorks v.9).

KJV (ed. Blaney 1769)

Authorized version, 1769 Blaney edition (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1769. BibleWorks, v.9).

Kuenen and Cobet, *NT* (1860)

Abraham Kuenen and Carel Gabriël Cobet, *Novum Testamentum ad fidem Codicis Vaticani* (Leiden: Brill, 1860). [b2916]

Lachmann, *NTG* (1831)

Karl Lachmann, *Novum Testamentum Graece ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni* (Berlin: Reimer, 1831). [b1133]

Lachmann and Buttmann, *NTGL 1* (1842)

Karl Lachmann and Philipp Buttmann, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine. Carolus Lachmannus recensuit. Philippus Buttmannus Graecae lectionis auctoritates apposuit. Tomus prior* (Berlin: Reimer, 1842). [b1371]

Lachmann and Buttmann *NTGL 2* (1850)

Karl Lachmann and Philipp Buttmann, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine. Carolus Lachmannus recensuit. Philippus Buttmannus Graecae lectionis auctoritates apposuit. Tomus alter* (Berlin: Reimer, 1850) [b1372]

LB (1984)

Lutherbibel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984; BibleWorks v.9).

Matthaei, *NTG 2* (1804)

Christian Friedrich von Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece. ... Tom. II. continens Actus Apostt. et Epistt. Catholl.* (Hof: Grau, 1804). [b4277]

Moffatt, *NT* (1913)

James Moffatt, *The New Testament. A New Translation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913). [b3266]

N¹ (1898)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et*

libris manu scriptis collecto (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [1]1898). [b1165]

N[3] (1901)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [3]1901). [b2117]

N[6] (1906)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [6]1906). [b2120]

N[10] (1914)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [10]1914). [b2124]

N[11] (1920)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [11]1920). [b2125]

N[12] (1923)

Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [12]1923). [b2126]

N[13] (1927)

Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [13]1927). [b2127]

N[16] (1936)

Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico …* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, [16]1936). [b2130]

NA[26] (1979)

Kurt Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle …* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [26]1979). [b2140]

NA[27] (1993)

Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle …* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [27]1993). [b2141]

NA[28] (2012)

Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece. Begründet von Eberhard und Erwin Nestle …* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [28]2012). [b2142]

NAB[4] (2010)

New American Bible (Washington, DC: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, [4]2010; BibleWorks v.9).

NASB^{2} (1995)

New American Standard Bible (La Habra, CA: The Lockman Foundation, ^{2}1995; BibleWorks v.9).

NBG (1951)

Bijbel in de Nieuwe Vertaling (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1951).

NBV (2004)

Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 2004).

NET (2005)

New English Translation (n.p.: Biblical Studies Press, 2005; BibleWorks v.9).

NIV^{3} (2011)

New International Version (Colorado Springs, CO: International Bible Society, ^{3}2011; BibleWorks v.9).

NRSV (1989)

New Revised Standard Version Bible (New York, NY: Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, 1989; BibleWorks v.9).

Oort, *NT* (1912)

Henricus Oort, *Het Nieuwe Testament opnieuw uit den grondtekst overgezet en van inleiding en aanteekeningen voorzien door …* (Zaltbommel: Wink, 1912). [b4254]

Penn, *New Covenant* (1838)

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